



**Land Conflicts and Livelihoods
of Pastoral Maasai Women
in Kilosa District, Morogoro,
Tanzania**



Ghent University, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences

Academic year 2014/2015

**Land conflicts and the livelihood of Pastoral Maasai Women in Kilosa district of
Morogoro, Tanzania**

Lucy Willy Massoi

**Dissertation Presented in the Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Political Sciences**

Promoter: Prof. dr. Koen Vlassenroot

Co - promoter: Prof. dr. Kennedy Mkutu

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| List of Figures | ix |
| List of Pictures..... | x |
| Acknowledgements..... | xi |
| Summary of the Dissertation | xv |
| 1.1 Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.2 Pastoralism as a Livelihood System..... | 2 |
| 1.3 Pastoral Women | 3 |
| 1.4 The Problem | 4 |
| 1.5 Land Conflicts, Reforms, Climate Change and Food (In) Security and Gender: General Theoretical Debates | 5 |
| 1.6 Research Questions | 8 |
| 1.7 Hypothetical Framework | 10 |
| 1.8 Genesis, Justification and Significance of the Research | 21 |
| 1.8.1 Genesis of the Research..... | 21 |
| 1.8.2 Justification for the Research | 21 |
| 1.8.3 Significance of the Research..... | 23 |
| 1.8.4 Structure of the Dissertation | 24 |
| 2.1 Introduction..... | 27 |
| 2.2 Study Area: Kilosa District..... | 27 |

| | |
|--|----|
| 2.3 Research Timetable..... | 31 |
| 2.4 Research Approach | 32 |
| 2.5 Sampling and Data Collection | 34 |
| 2.6 Primary Data Sources: Participant Observation, Focus groups and Interviews | 35 |
| 2.7 Secondary and Archival Sources..... | 38 |
| 2.8 Ethical Considerations..... | 39 |
| 2.9 Reporting and Analysis | 40 |
| 2.10 Data Reliability and Validity..... | 41 |
| 2.11 Scope of the Research..... | 42 |
| 2.12 Challenges and Limitations of Ethnographic Fieldwork in Pastoral Areas..... | 43 |
| 2.12.1 Limitations..... | 43 |
| 2.12.2 Generalizability..... | 45 |
| 2.13 Conclusion..... | 46 |
| 3.1 Introduction..... | 48 |
| 3.2 Land Reforms and Gender: Theoretical Arguments..... | 53 |
| 3.3 Land Reforms Process and Women in Tanzania: A Situational Analysis..... | 56 |
| 3.3.1 Privatization of Land: A General Overview..... | 67 |
| 3.3.2 Land Reforms and Pastoral Maasai Women, Kilosa Case study | 69 |
| 3.3.3 Land Privatization and Dispossession in Kilosa..... | 73 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3.3.4 Commercialization of Agricultural Sector “Kilimo Kwanza” Policy Initiatives | 84 |
| 3.3.5 Shift in Roles, Status and Livelihood | 88 |
| 3.3.6 Land Insecurity..... | 96 |
| 3.3.7 Emergence of Classes, Polarization of Pastoralism and Increased Women Vulnerabilities | 102 |
| 3.4 Conclusion | 107 |
| 4.1 Introduction..... | 110 |
| 4.2 Patterns of Land Use Conflict in Kilosa..... | 117 |
| 4.2.1 Pastoralists and Farmers Conflicts: Mabwegere Case Study | 118 |
| 4.2.2 Pastoralists and the National Park: Ngaiti Case Study | 121 |
| 4.2.3 Pastoralists and Investors: Ngaiti Case Study | 125 |
| 4.2.4 Pastoralists and the State: Operation Kilosa (OKI) | 126 |
| 4.3 Gendered Impacts of Conflicts..... | 128 |
| 4.3.1 Access to Resources | 128 |
| 4.3.2 Gender Relations and Conflict..... | 135 |
| 4.3.3 Workload..... | 136 |
| 4.3.4 The Church and Gender Roles..... | 140 |
| 4.3.5 Widow and Inheritance Issues..... | 142 |
| 4.3.6 Physical Vulnerability | 143 |
| 4.3.7 Income and Loss of Livelihood | 146 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 4.4 Conclusion | 147 |
| 5.1 Introduction..... | 150 |
| 5.2 Climate Change, Land Conflicts, and Gender – A Theoretical Account..... | 152 |
| 5.3 Climate Change, Conflicts and Pastoral Women in Tanzania..... | 158 |
| 5.4 Climate Change, Conflicts and Pastoral Women in Kilosa | 160 |
| 5.4.1 Climate Change in Kilosa | 160 |
| 5.4.2 Tanzania Meteorological Authority (TMA) Data..... | 164 |
| 5.4.3 Discussion | 168 |
| 5.4.4 Experiences of Climate Change and Conflicts..... | 173 |
| 5.4.5 Politicization of Climate Change Debate | 180 |
| 5.5 Gender Related Issues..... | 182 |
| 5.5.1 Access to Resources | 188 |
| 5.5.2 Income Generating Activities | 190 |
| 5.5.3 Shift in City Migrants Patterns | 194 |
| 5.6 State Induced Adaptation Strategies | 196 |
| 5.7 Conclusion | 200 |
| 6.1 Introduction..... | 207 |
| 6.2 Food Security and Conflict..... | 211 |
| 6.3 Gendered Impacts..... | 215 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 6.4 Food Insecurity, Conflict and Gender in Tanzania: Current Status..... | 217 |
| 6.5 Food Security in the Context of Kilosa..... | 220 |
| 6.5.1 The Pastoral Maasai Dietary Practices..... | 220 |
| 6.6.2 Food Security, Conflict and Gender in the Context of Kilosa..... | 227 |
| 6.6.3 Operation Kilosa | 242 |
| 6.6.4 Land Alienations | 249 |
| 6.7 Conclusion | 255 |
| 7.1 Introduction..... | 262 |
| 7.2 Land Reforms, Conflicts and Pastoral Maasai Women..... | 264 |
| 7.3 Land Conflicts in Kilosa and Pastoral Women | 268 |
| 7.4 The Role of Climate Change..... | 269 |
| 7.5 Food Security, Conflict and Pastoral Women | 271 |
| 7.6 Theoretical Implications..... | 272 |
| 7.7 Policy Implications | 273 |
| 7.8 Suggestions for Further Research Projects | 275 |
| References..... | 277 |
| Annex 1: Timeline of Conflicts, Human and Livestock Population Trends in Kilosa district..... | 315 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1: Combined hypothetical framework..... | 20 |
| Figure 2: Map of Kilosa District..... | 29 |
| Figure 3: Livestock trend in Kilosa District | 124 |
| Figure 4: Morogoro Region annual minimum and maximum temperature patterns..... | 166 |
| Figure 5: Monthly temperature patterns in Morogoro Region..... | 166 |
| Figure 6: Annual rainfall patterns for Morogoro Region and Kilosa District..... | 168 |
| Figure 7: National Priority Actions identified in Tanzania's NAPA | 198 |
| Figure 8: The complex picture of conflict, food security and gender impacts in Kilosa | 259 |

List of Pictures

| | |
|--|-----|
| Picture 1: Marginal road connecting Ngaiti and Parakuyo sub-villages | 45 |
| Picture 2: Researcher's car stranded in the middle of rangelands in Kilosa..... | 45 |
| Picture 3: Maasai woman drawing water from the river | 83 |
| Picture 4: SBL maize farm in Kilosa in 2012..... | 86 |
| Picture 5: Sisal estate in Kilosa under China State Farms Company | 86 |
| Picture 6: Maasai woman in milk business | 94 |
| Picture 7: Farming communities of Dumila joining hands to destroy Maasai truck | 121 |
| Picture 8: Security officials removing roadblocks placed by farmers | 121 |
| Picture 9: Two dead bulls transported for sales after being shot | 126 |
| Picture 10: A woman with display of merchandise of herbs | 135 |
| Picture 11: Security officials inspecting burnt houses during the 2008 conflicts | 139 |
| Picture 12: A pastoral women with her donkey and her youngest daughter..... | 140 |
| Picture 13: Parakuyo cattle market in Twatwatwa village..... | 205 |
| Picture 14: Slaughtered goat for sale at Kilosa market | 225 |
| Picture 15: A young Maasai boy draining blood from the cattle..... | 226 |
| Picture 16: Bodaboda man | 238 |

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is not a product of simply my own efforts. Many people have directly and indirectly played crucial roles to the completion of this work. Although it is not going to be possible to thank everyone individually, I remain forever grateful to you all. I would like then to take this opportunity to sincerely thank my PhD promoters for their constructive and productive evaluations, thoughts and critical notes, which helped me to finish my thesis successfully. To my promoter Prof. dr. Koen Vlassenroot, I thank you for promoting this thesis with critical advice and insightful criticisms. Koen, I also thank you for putting much trust on my capabilities. Both, your personal and professional advice and encouragement have significantly helped me to in the end accomplish the writing of this thesis.

I am also extremely thankful to my co-promoter Prof. dr. Kennedy Agade Mkutu, for your inspirational and professional guidance in the course of preparing and writing of this thesis. Kennedy, I have learnt more from you than I can ever be able to contain in this short paragraph and the thesis as a whole. Your remarkable support inspired me to accomplish the dream of undertaking a scientific research, which originally formulated back in 2003 while undertaking my Master thesis on women and political representation in local authorities of Tanzania. Your supervision and continuous advice especially during my fieldwork in Tanzania are highly appreciated. Further, I would like to thank my PhD commission: Prof.dr. Koen Vlassenroot, Prof. dr. Anne Walraet, Prof. dr. Jeroen Adam, Prof. dr. Kennedy Agade Mkutu, Prof. dr. Dessein Joost, and Dr. Jeroen Cuvelier for critically reading this work and sitting in my jury. To all of you I say thank you very much. Special thanks goes to Jeroen Adam, whom efforts on continuous reading, critics and shaping of this document made my work what it is today. Your comments have to a great extent shaped my research arguments.

I am exceptionally grateful to the Belgian Technical Cooperation (BTC) for funding my PhD studies, and supporting my fieldwork activities in Tanzania. I also remain indebted to my employer, the Mzumbe University for granting me a study leave and also support my PhD programme. I must sincerely admit that, without these supports, it would have been impossible for me to pursue this programme.

I am also indebted to all of my colleagues and friends in the Department of Conflict and Development Studies Ghent University. Your countless practical and moral support in the course of my stay at the department as well as writing of this thesis will never be forgotten. To Laura, Hilde, Kim and Mieke, thank you so much. Dr. Misafi thanks for spending time to discuss my work. In a special way, I wish to thank Koen Vanrumste; your distinct administrative and moral support from the day I arrived at the department to this day of my departure are countless and not easy to measure. Thanks you so much Koen. Prof. Felix Kaputu and Prof. Roberts Muriisa, thank you for fruitful inputs and discussions we have had in relation to my work.

I wish to also thank my research assistants, Edward, Mollel and Lusako for your determined support during the data collection, translation and compilation of this thesis. Edward, you were always upfront to offer a support, even when I was in Belgium, and I find myself in need of data. My profound debt is to all of my respondents both at the government and the community level for their willingness and readiness to participate and avail me with the data I required for this work, In particular, I thank the then Inspector General Police of Tanzania, Mr. Said Mwema for taking time to discuss issues of conflict in Kilosa. I also wish to thank the Regional Police Commander for Morogoro region and the Police officer commanding the district [OCD] in Kilosa, for their valuable support during my fieldwork activities in Kilosa. I remain much appreciative and thankful to Kilosa District Council, particularly the office of the Executive Director for granting me with the permission to carry out this scientific research in its respective wards. My thoughtful debt is to the people in the pastoral Maasai communities of Parakuyo, Ngaiti – Luhoza, Kiduhi and Mabwegere of Kilosa District and beyond who accepted me into their lives. You opened your homes and lives to me, shared your food and introduced me to the joys of a sociable world in which people dance, sing, celebrate, talk, and laugh with great pleasures. You taught me by sharing your joys, concerns and feelings of your everyday world. I am grateful to all those people who trusted me with personal and sensitive stories, and photos, a small part of which I have tried to capture and share in this thesis [with your permission]. To Tessa, thanks for spending your time by going through my work from the beginning to the end and make it readable. I remain forever grateful.

My heartfelt appreciations goes to my parents, my dad Lieutenant Colonel (RTD) Willy John Masoi and my mum Mama Mary-Salome Massoi who encouraged, inspired and brought me up to this academic level. It is through your great sacrifice and effort that I am able to reach this point. In a most precise way, I value and acknowledge you for regardless of the strong patriarchal Chagga tradition in relation to women and land, you divided your land for us irrespective of gender. Dad! My greatest regret and sorrow is that; you did not live to celebrate this day with us today. But in my heart I rejoice. You gave me the greatest gift anyone could hardly give to another person; you believed in me, you believed in us! Harmony, which you and mum spent time to build in our family, it didn't, it hasn't and it will never rise among us on the issue of family properties including land. I know you are not gone...and I cannot say you are gone forever ... but you are just away dad!

I am also thankful to my brothers, Dr. John, Dennis, and Matthew and sisters Theresia [thanks for fine-tuning my work], Assumpta, and Wendy for your 24/7 unending and unconditional support. My baby sister Emmanuella! You did not leave to see my achievement, but I still remember while growing and schooling together, you always want the best of us. But I know where you are now; together with dad you are rejoicing this day with us. Special thanks to my brothers and sisters in laws, Elieneza, Geschenk, Gaudence, Agatha, Vicky and Brenda for your unconditional support you extended to me and to Jensen, I stay forever indebted. You did much more than these few lines of mine can be able to document. To my nieces and nephews, thanks for the unreserved love and care you extended to Jensen. I love you both always.

Finally, special thanks are due to my son, Louis-Jensen Josse', for your special support, motivation, and sacrifices in the course of writing this thesis. Things were not always easy, as at some point my sandwich PhD programme prevented us from doing what we would have done together. You grew from a toddler to a little man in my absence; I thank my entire family for unconditional love and care of you while in Ghent. Jensen, your famous consoling statement 'it's just a matter of time mama' whenever we talk while in Belgium has been the best fuel that eased all the odds. I love you forever.

Dedication

**In loving memory of my Dad Lt. Colonel Willy John Masoi (RTD), who saw the
value of land for us irrespective of gender!**

Summary of the Dissertation

This dissertation analyses conflicts around land in relation to pastoral Maasai women livelihoods in Tanzania. Issues of pastoralism and land use conflicts in Tanzania are well documented in literature. However, a gendered analysis of conflicts around land in relation to land reforms (changes in the use and ownership of, and access to land and land resources), prolonged climate variability and change, and food insecurity hardly exists in the literature. Of particular concern is the rudimentary analysis of these conflicts as it relates to pastoral Maasai women, the primary and secondary users of land in pastoral livelihoods. In this dissertation, analysis of conflicts around land in relation to land reforms, climate change, food (in) security and gender draws us into four main arguments.

One, although land reforms usually target to providing equal right of access to and use of land for all including women, existing literature suggests that, customary practices, structures and institutions that mediate access to and use of land, work to women's disadvantage. Two, land use conflicts have a disproportionate gendered effect, and women are the most hit hard in conflict situations. Three, climate change is one of several factors that aggravate conflict, and ultimately exacerbate the plight of women. Four, food insecurity and conflict are intricately linked, and women as default food managers shoulder the heaviest burden.

The data analysed in this dissertation were collected in the Kilosa district, located in Morogoro, Tanzania. This is one of the renowned hotspots in Tanzania for pastoral – farmer conflicts. Within Kilosa, data were collected in pastoral Maasai settlements [villages] of Twatwatwa, Kiduhi, Ngaiti, and Mabwegere. In the villages, pastoral Maasai women were central focus of the study. This study is an ethnographic inspired [micro ethnographic] one. In this regard I used focus group discussions, interviews, and participant observations to collect the required data. To analytically link the theoretical arguments and collected data, I combined political economy and sustainable livelihood approaches to analyse land conflicts and the livelihood of pastoral Maasai women in Kilosa.

Generally, through interviews, focus group discussions, and observations, I have found that vulnerabilities to conflicts around land are gender differentiated. Unlike pastoral men, pastoral Maasai women were found to experience climate change, food insecurity, and land reforms differently from men. Specifically results reveal that, regardless of the good intentions of land reforms to mitigate land conflicts, conflicts around land in Kilosa are long standing and recurring in nature, and exist in three dominant forms. These conflicts are partly triggered by the pluralistic, overlapping and contradictory nature of the land laws, which have accelerated inequalities in access to and control of land to pastoral Maasai. In the same vein results indicate that the reforms have not been in favour of pastoralism, and pastoral women in particular. Pastoral Women have entered into a market-oriented reform without independent access to neither land nor economic muscles for negotiation in the markets, nor do even the financial resources that are the most important in that kind of market economy. Tellingly, the women have rather entered with a complete dependency on men to access land resources. As consequence, pastoral women as default home managers and caregivers experience a double blow as pastoralists and as women in a strongly patriarchal system.

Results also disclose that, although climate change taking place in Kilosa, its causal link with recurrent conflicts around land is complex, as there are direct, indirect and political explanations to the causal link. Likewise, I observed that, vulnerabilities to unprecedented impacts of climate change events are gender differentiated. In a specific way, I observed that, climate change is exacerbating the existing unequal resource access and gendered power relations in resource access experienced by pastoral women. This impact is consequently limiting women's ability to cope with and adapt to a changing climate. Furthermore, results also show that, food insecurity among pastoral Maasai in Kilosa is about food preferences and dietary practices. Second, this work finds that the relationship between the food insecurity and land conflict is complex and multifaceted one, as there is no single factor that can explain the relationship between food insecurity and land conflict in Kilosa. In the end, pastoral women heavily by virtue

of their specific and default gender roles, presence of insecure rights to property like land, and lack of power in land and livestock matters.

In this regard, this dissertation concludes that, conflicts around land in Kilosa are intricate in nature and cannot be analysed from a single narrative, and their effects are gender differentiated. Pastoral Maasai women by virtue of their specific gender roles and the gender relations are hit hard. In view of the above, I argue that, analysis of conflicts around land as it relates to land reforms, climate change, food insecurity, and gender in Kilosa is a complex issue that cannot be analysed from one factor / perspective. In this regard, a combination political economy approach [PEA] and sustainable livelihood approach [SLA] suffice to analyse conflicts around land in relation to pastoral Maasai women livelihoods in Kilosa.

As a way forward, this study has following implications to the policy. First, land related policies in Tanzania [such as the policy on Kilimo Kwanza] should be reconstructed to focus not only in Green revolution through crop farming, but also incorporate pastoral issues concerning land. Changing statutory land laws alone without considering the patriarchal socio-economic norms and values in pastoral setting does not automatically guarantee tenure security among the pastoral women in Tanzania, Kilosa in particular. In this case, I argue that, for secure land reforms, the political, economic, and social structures through which land access is mediated must also be reformed. *Second*, there should be a holistic conflict mitigation approach and strategies in resolving conflict around land in Kilosa. The approaches should focus at engaging pastoralists and pastoralist women in particular, and their institutions and making them an integral part of the solutions. *Third*, decisions dealing with climate change mitigation strategies such as the Kilosa eviction of 2009 should also involve pastoralist women whose livelihood depends directly and or indirectly on climate sensitive resources. *Fourth*, the introduction of forage crops production [such as grasses and legumes] in Kilosa is imperative. This will assist in increasing pasture production, which eventually will boost livestock production [livestock, the main preferred food source among the pastoral Maasai]. Equally, availability of forage crops within pastoralists reach reduces

unplanned herd mobility, and at the same time lessens challenges that pastoralist women face in their responsibilities as default food managers.

Chapter 1

General Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation analyses conflicts around land in relation to pastoral Maasai women livelihoods in Tanzania. The central aim of this study is to offer an exploration on the link between land conflicts and pastoral Maasai women livelihoods. Specifically, this dissertation explores various types of land conflicts, those related to climate change, food insecurity and land reforms, and considers the implication for pastoral women and as they attempt to carry out their specific gender roles in pastoral society.

Scholars such as Hughes and Hughes (2001) broadly define gender as the product of a socially constructed relationship and interaction between men and women in concrete (and changeable) societies, and how such relations have implications on men's and women's social status, roles and responsibilities. Likewise, Meena (1992a) and Nelson (2008) define gender as a socially and culturally constructed concept that recognizes the different socialized roles which boys and men have compared to girls and women, and which operate in their daily lives. This implies that gender may incorporate structural inequality between men and women, as it is demonstrated in socio-economic-political structures, and households, and reinforced by custom, law and policies. The socially constructed phenomena vary with time and space (Agarwal, 1994). Although gender is broadly defined to encompass socially constructed relationship between men and women, it is however not context sensitive. Ellis (2000) indicates that, 'the social constructed roles are usually unequal in terms of power, decision making, control over events, freedom of action, ownership of resources, gender and power, and subordination and inequality. In this dissertation, gender is viewed as culturally and socially constructed, and geographically and historically specific, and so it will inevitably change over time and through space (Butler 1990).

This research stems from the understanding that, issues of land use conflicts are increasingly becoming common phenomena in Tanzania. It is estimated that, there are approximately one thousand land-based conflicts on an annual basis in Tanzania (Makwarimba and Ngowi, 2013). Such conflicts have been noted in Tarime and Rorya,

Mara region in 2002; Mbarali (Ihefu Valley) in 2006; Babati, Manyara region in 2002; Arumeru, Arusha Region in 2002, Simanjiro in 2010, Ikwiriri in 2012 (Shao, 2008; Mjasiri, 2012; Kipobota, 2013), and more recently in Kilosa where this dissertation focuses. Importantly, conflicts around land are never around only about land itself of course. But rather they are perceived through a variety of land reforms, inheritance, ethnicity, boundaries, as well as cultural and traditional practices including rain, fertility, health, birth, growth and burial rituals, prayers, and the buried ancestors (Derman et al., 2007, Marcel and Mwangi, 2014). As noted, several land-based conflicts are evident in Tanzania. These conflicts may be categorized according to their players into four general categories: community versus investors conflicts, inter communal land conflicts between pastoralists and local farmers, inter pastoral conflicts over water, pasture and cattle raiding, and conflict between community and state (government) over conservation and development projects (Reisman et al., 2013).

These conflicts have varying effects on communities, including loss of human lives, properties, displacements of large segments communities, physical and sexual abuse, to disruption of socio-economic activities and livelihoods, economic hardships as a result of disrupted livelihoods, increased hatred between communities, and high levels of starvation and malnutrition among the displaced groups (Vlassenroot and Huggins, 2005; Shao, 2008; Benjaminsen et al., 2009; Urmilla, 2010; Shem, 2010). The overall analysis of the nature of these land conflicts suggests that, different livelihood systems face different experience of the conflicts by virtue of their direct or indirect dependence on land and land related resources. One system, which suffers greatly, is pastoralism due to its high level of dependence on land for livestock keeping, the main source of pastoralists' livelihood (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Kipuri and Sorensen, 2009).

1.2 Pastoralism as a Livelihood System

Pastoralists refer to a group of nomads, constituting nearly 20 million nomadic people in the Horn of Africa¹ and Great Lakes² region (Mkutu, 2010; Kipuri, 2009). Pastoralist livelihood relies on extensive and traditional livestock production and land as their main source of livelihood system (Kassahun, Snyman, and Smit; 2008) in which at least 50% of household gross revenue (including income and consumption) comes from livestock or livestock-related activities (Swift 1998; OXFAM 2008). The livelihood system is defined by a specialization to take advantage of the characteristic instability of rangeland environment, mostly found in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs).

In Tanzania, ASALs cover almost eighty per cent of the land mass and support about ten per cent of the country's population, spread among five pastoral tribes, of which the Maasai is the largest and most well-known community. On the dry-land plains of Tanzania, livestock and their herders, sometimes entire families, can move from one place to another over long distances reaching for suitable pasture.

Through mobility in reaching for pasture land, pastoralists find convenient to settle in areas such as catchment areas where crop farming also takes place. The pastoralist settlement usually leads to pastoralist-farmer land conflicts due to scramble for land (Opiyo et al. 2011; Kratli, 2013). Literature confirms that pastoralists endure a number of acute challenges including a shortage of land for grazing, lack of water frequent cases of cattle rustling, and a break-down of traditional institutions, hence entering into conflict with other land users such as farmers (Sendalo, 2009). However, despite the livelihood shocks that pastoralists face, pastoralism is successful in contributing to 98% of the national livestock herd. 90% of these cattle are indigenous stock *zebu* type

¹ Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti

² Burundi, CAR, Congo, DRC and Rwanda and Tanzania

produced mainly in the ASALs by the pastoralists. Such contributions have placed Tanzania in third place as a cattle producer in the Horn after Ethiopia and Sudan (Kipuri and Sorensen, 2009; URT, 2009).

Broadly, different groups of pastoralists are found in the East Africa region including Bedouins, Turkana, Somali, Boran, Samburu, and Maasai (Fratkin, 2001; Fratkin and Mearns, 2003). Within Tanzania, the dominant groups of pastoralists include the Sukuma, Maasai and Barbaigs. The pastoral Maasai are subdivided into a limited number of territorially based sections (iloshon). These sections include Kisongo, Ilparakuyo, Loita, Salei, and Siringet.

1.3 Pastoral Women

Within the pastoral livelihood system, women play a fundamental role as livestock keepers, natural resource managers, income generators, and service providers, roles which, in themselves, are influenced by gendered norms, values, and relations (Flintan, 2010; 2011; Flintan et al., 2011; Ridgewell et al., 2007; Eyenew and Mengitsu, 2013, Wangui 2008). Such roles contribute to livestock production, the main source of income and prestige for pastoralists (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008).

A vast body of literature exists that provide descriptive characteristics of the Maasai socio-economic and political organizations and their locations in East Africa (Tanzania and Kenya) (Talle, 1988; 1990; Mitzlaff, 1988; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Wangui, 2008; Kipuri and Sorensen, 2009; Homewood et al., 2009; Flintan, 2011; Misafi, 2014). This work will however not make a duplication of the already documented description, but rather focus on the Tanzania pastoral Maasai located in Kilosa district, Morogoro region. Likewise, although pastoralist women involve women from different areas of pastoral societies, in this context, pastoral women will mean the pastoral Maasai women located in Kilosa district, Tanzania. Odour (2011) attests that, pastoral Maasai women are the socio-economic engines of the Maasai pastoralist livelihoods, in charge of

tending livestock, care for the children, fetching firewood and water from surrounding thicket, and building and repairing of *manyatta*.³

1.4 The Problem

Issues of pastoralism and land use conflicts in Tanzania are well documented in literature (Benjaminsen et al., 2009; Maganga et al., 2007; Shao, 2008, Urmilla, 2011 Kimboya, 2012; King, 2013; Misafi, 2014). However, a gendered analysis of conflicts around land in relation to land reforms (changes in the use and ownership of, and access to land and land resources), prolonged climate variability and change, and food insecurity hardly exists in the literature. Of particular concern is the rudimentary analysis of these conflicts as it relates to pastoral Maasai women, the primary and secondary users of land in pastoral livelihoods (Flintan, 2008; 2010). Sendalo (2009) analysed implications of land use policies on pastoralism in Tanzania and found that changes in land use and access significantly contribute to land use conflicts due to its alienation, contradicting laws and inequalities with respect to land access. However, Sendalo analysis is not linked to conflicts around land. Knight (2010) did a study on land reforms in Tanzania and found the reform as among the most gender-sensitive of its kind in Sub-Saharan Africa (Knight 2010).

But anyhow, Knight's study does not make a study of gender and conflict. Similarly, in a study by Kalumanga et al (2014), an assessment of the existing climate change adaptation strategies or technologies and the involvement of gender in addressing climate change adaptation technology are done. The study found that, unlike women, men were found to be more participative in sessions for transfer of innovations. Issues such as tradition, culture and household chores threatened women not to involve much in such sessions. Luckily, women not attending in such session did not connote not

³ Among the pastoral Maasai, a *manyatta* refers to a group of huts fashioning a unit within a common fence (Interview with an elder at Parakuyo sub-village, October 26th, 2010).

adapting to climate change. Roles occupied in the community and household chores had been the factor for women to decide whether to participate or not participate in the training sessions.

Although the study is about climate change and gender, it did not focus on women in traditional societies such as Maasai pastoral women. In the same line of thinking, Kangalawe and Lyimo (2013) analyzed the impacts of climate change and variability on rural livelihoods focusing on agricultural production, food security and adaptive capacities in semiarid areas of Tanzania. Results from the study indicate that communities understood climate change in terms of variability in rainfall patterns and amount, temperature patterns, wind, water availability, increased incidences of drought and decreased agricultural productivity.

A gendered focus, however, was not part of the design of the study. Yanda and William (2010) examined Livelihoods diversifications and implications on food security and poverty levels in the Maasai plains in Simanjiro district, Northern Tanzania. They conclude that to ensure food security, pastoralists strategically diversify their livelihoods through engaging in agriculture, charcoal selling, retail shops and restaurants and trading in minerals. This is interesting because, from observation, women are frequently found to be doing these activities, but the gendered aspect is not a specific finding here. Therefore, a research gap exists which this study intends to fill.

1.5 Land Conflicts, Reforms, Climate Change and Food (In) Security and Gender: General Theoretical Debates

Analysis of conflicts around land in relation to land reforms, climate change, food (in) security and gender draws us into the following on-going debates. Within the discussion concerning land, conflicts and gender, literature indicates that women and men experience conflicts differently, depending on the specific socio-cultural induced gender roles and relations prevailing in their society (Byrne 1996; Mkutu, 2008 and Young and Sing'Oei, 2011). However, there is also literature, which suggests that, conflicts affect

the entire community irrespective of gender [Kandagor, 2005; Maganga, Odgaard and Sjaastad, 2007]. However, in this context, I concur with the argument that, when conflicts occur, women are affected differently from men because of certain gender specific roles they play in their societies.

In as far as land reforms and gender, two opposing academic arguments exist: On the one hand, that individualised land rights are more effective and desirable in promoting tenure security and efficient use of land (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Land individualization stimulates market-oriented land transactions, and provides the landless and multiple social groups with wider equal opportunities to participate in a more secured manner (De Soto, 2000; Thu et al., 2007; Sikor and Muller, 2009; Deininger et al., 2010; Pedersen and Haule, 2013). As others argue however, regardless of what the statutory law states, the customary law has power to override statutory law (Walker, 2002; Quisumburg, Payongayong, Aidoo, and Otsuka, 2003). Further, advocates of communal land rights believe that, traditional forms of tenure are the most effective way to ensure secure tenure and promote gender equality in accessing land and land resources (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). However, scholars such as Jacobs (2002), and Deere and Leon (2003) are of the view that communal land rights are insecure in guaranteeing land rights to women particularly in patriarchal societies. I argue that reforming statutory land laws and institutions governing land alone, is not enough to guarantee tenure security among women.

As far as issues of climate change, land conflicts and gender are concerned, four theoretical standpoints exist. The first claims that, there is a direct causal relationship between climate change and conflicts, and therefore change in climate directly leads to conflicts (Diamond 2005, UNEP 2007). This claim is however criticized on the grounds that, every conflict has many causes, which may not necessarily be directly instigated by climate change. Conflict can be related to prevailing social economic and political conditions (Righarts, 2009, Hoste and Vlassenroot, 2009). The second claims that climate change and land conflicts are indirectly linked, as change in climate exacerbates

existing trends, tensions and instabilities (Meier et al (2007), which eventually fuels conflict. Therefore, climate change is neither a necessary nor a direct causal link of conflicts (Barnett and Adger, 2007,). This indirect causal link of climate change and conflict model focuses on the mediating factors such as social practices and social vulnerabilities (Forsyth and Schomerus, 2013). In turn, the indirect school of thought tends to propose solutions, which do not just limit the potential cause and impact of conflict, but also of climate change.

The third claim poses a challenge to both 'direct' and 'indirect' schools of thought by claiming that, existing global debates about the causal link between climate change and conflict are not just of a scientific but also of a political nature (Morissey, 2009, Meier et al 2007). Climate change have always been used as a vehicle for advancing political or private interest to pursue funds, to gain political support, and to destruct attention from underlying political objectives (Levine et al., 2014). Thus it is said, claims about climate change and conflict need to be treated critically. While climate change and conflict might have complex causal link to human behaviours and resources, these need to be understood with reference to local contexts and practices rather than on the basis of bold claims based on assumptions.

The fourth claim, which does not contradict the others, focuses on the impact of conflicts related to climate change, noting that, both men and women bear the brunt of vulnerability to climate change related conflicts. However, Babugura (2010) challenge this view on the grounds that women often bear the brunt of burden of climate change related conflicts due to different gender roles and unequal distribution amongst them (Babugura, 2010, Asheber, 2012). In this research, I argue that climate change is just one among several factors that aggravate conflict, and ultimately exacerbate the plight of women.

As far as food security, conflicts and gender are concerned, three arguments exists which associate food (in) security with conflicts (Messer and Cohen, 2006; Mugabi, 2013; ActionAid, 2009). Firstly, conflicts are viewed as factors in instigating food

shortage by affecting local food systems (Messer and Cohen, 2006). Secondly, food crises also intensify food competition and create conflicts. Contributing to this debate, Vlassenroot et al (2006) note the complex interaction and association between food insecurity and conflict that cannot be explained through a mono-causal relationship. Thirdly, the consequent food insecurity can be an unintended by-product of conflict but can also be a deliberate strategy of actors in conflict (Devereux, 2000).

From a gendered perspective, literature indicates that, unlike men, women as food managers are highly affected by food insecurity induced conflict (Rosegrant, Paisner, Meijer, and Witcover, 2001; Misselhorn, 2005; Mkutu, 2006; 2008; Simmons, 2013). This may be simply seen as being due to the fact that, women's traditional role is to ensure that everybody within a household is fed (Flintan, 2008; Bukuluki, Mugumya, Neema, Kafuko, and Ochen, 2008; Karl, 2009). However, very scanty information is documented to ascertain the link between food (in)security and conflicts from a gendered perspective. This work advances that conflicts and food insecurity are intricately linked, and women as default food managers shoulder the heaviest burden.

Detailed discussions of these theoretical perspectives and their empirical data are presented in chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 of this dissertation. The subsequent section further highlights research questions of this study by elaborating on the link between land conflicts, land reforms, climate change, food (in)security and gender.

1.6 Research Questions

The central question of this study is how conflicts around land, access and use are impacting pastoral Maasai women livelihoods in Tanzania. From the central question, the following sub-questions guide the study.

- i. The first research question explores land reforms, conflict and pastoral women's livelihoods. Since land issues in Tanzania are claimed to be associated with problems embedded within the existing institutional framework governing

access to use and control over land (Shivji, 2008), exploring land laws in Tanzania in this case is also crucial, with a particular focus on the livelihood position of the pastoralist women. In this regard, the question is: How is land reform related conflicts linked to pastoral Maasai women's livelihoods? The study aims to fill in the knowledge gap on the gendered dimension of land reforms on Maasai pastoral societies in general and women in particular in Tanzania as related to conflicts around land. The work documents the secondary but pivotal role pastoral women play in livelihoods and how they are being affected by the on-going changes in land use in Tanzania, but also how they are responding to shifts in their livelihood.

- ii. The second research question explores forms of conflicts around land, and their gendered impact. In this regards, the question may be subdivided in the following ones: What forms of land conflicts exists in Kilosa? Are there specific implications of these conflicts on women, their roles and upon gender relations? The fundamental reason for these questions is that conflicts are likely to impact strongly upon women, and also change, reinforce and/or transform existing gender relations, and existing traditional structures that are heavily balanced against women and the children they care for, as they face disproportionate impacts (Mkutu, 2008). This work aims to explore this issue further in the context of pastoral Maasai women in Kilosa.
- iii. The third research question concerns the causal linkage between climate change, conflicts and gender. Therefore, the fundamental research questions are: a) what information exists regarding climate change in Kilosa? b) What relationship climate change has with land conflict, and c) How does climate change and any subsequent conflict affect pastoral Maasai women's livelihoods?
- iv. The fourth research question concerns food insecurity and its complex relationship with conflict, bringing again the gendered impact of this: How does food (in) security related land conflicts in Kilosa affect the livelihood of the pastoral women?

1.7 Hypothetical Framework

This section provides a hypothetical framework to guide the research. It may be distinguished from a conceptual framework in that it has a hypothesis or research assumptions embedded in it, which are indicated by unidirectional arrows or arrows that propose a relationship. An analysis of land conflicts, access and use and pastoral women livelihoods⁴ can be done using sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) or the political economy approach (PEA).

The sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) is a holistic approach that puts people's livelihoods, meaning their interaction with their environment at its center. The approach puts people's livelihoods, meaning their interaction with their environment at its center. The framework incorporates five elements of analysis: context and policy analysis, analysis of livelihood resources, institutions and organizations, livelihood strategies and sustainable livelihood outcomes (Scoones 1998). The core livelihood approach lies in analysing different assets/capital upon which individuals or households draw to produce (DFID, 2004).

SLA identifies human Capital (H) to represent the skills; knowledge, ability to labor and good health that together enabled people pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve the livelihood objectives. In this context, human capital focus on pastoral women's capacity and willingness to act and promote change (for themselves or others), and their desire to assert and claim their rights over livelihood resources key for their

⁴ The concept of livelihood is defined in many ways in the livelihood literature (Chamber and Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998; Carney, 1998; Ellis, 2000). Chambers and Conway's (1992) defines Livelihood as "comprised of the capabilities, assets (including both material and social assets) and activities required for means of a living; a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with or recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contribute to net benefits to other livelihood at the local and global levels and in the short and long term "(Chambers and Conway, 1992:6 cited from de Haan,2012:p.346).

livelihood transformation such as land and land related resources. It also incorporates their desire to engage in political activities. Natural capital (N) is another form of capital representing natural resource stocks from which the resource flows and services useful for livelihood are derived. Among the pastoral societies, women in particular, natural resources include assets such as land (pasture), water, firewood, building materials [grasses, trees], forests for collecting herbal medicines, and livestock. Several assets should be considered in order to envision any possible solution regarding pastoralist women's challenges.

Another asset is a social capital (S), and may be expressed as 'social resource upon which people draw in pursuit of the livelihood objectives. The financial capital (F) is another form of assets; and in the SLA framework, it entails the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. In pastoralist communities, financial capital is based on the ownership of livestock or access to livestock resources. Since ownership of the resources are male centered, I presuppose that power relations between men and women as well as instructions governing access and use of land as well as markets are crucial factors in the attainment of financial capital to pastoralist women that can influence pastoral women's livelihood. Finally, the physical capital (P) is another form of assets, which comprises basic infrastructure and producer goods required to support livelihoods.

The limited availability of physical assets may often impact negatively on Maasai women differently from men as the women are traditionally in charge to taking care of households including ensuring food mainly milk is available to household members especially children. In order to create livelihoods, people must combine 'capital' endowments that have access to and control over land (Kyalo, 2009; Msigwa and Mvena, 2014).

This implies that, access to stocks of these resources can be used directly or indirectly to generate or develop means of survival for the households. Several assets endowments that have access to and control over should be considered in order to envision any

11

possible solution regarding pastoralist women's challenges. For instance, while; natural capital connects to land use, agricultural and environmental policies, and human capital connect to social policies (education, housing, and economic security), while; natural capital connects to land use, agricultural and environmental policies (Kyalo, 2009; Msigwa and Mvena, 2014).

In this thesis however, I look at livelihood only as an entry point to analyze the livelihood of these pastoral Maasai women rather than as an analytical approach. Reasoning that, the livelihood framework does not indeed prescribe off the shelf framework in analyzing the livelihood of pastoral women as it relates to land conflicts, reforms, climate change and food (in) security. The framework overlooks the fact that livelihood constitutes a set of complex, contextual, diverse and dynamic strategies developed by households to meet their needs' (Gaillard et al., 2009:121 cf. de Haan, 2012), where power determines the manner in which men and women access livelihood assets like land. Moreover, livelihood analysis through SLA framings is also criticized on the ground that: it lack of attention to processes of economic globalization, lack of attention to politics and power, not linked to governance, the limited engagement of livelihoods approaches with on-going agrarian transformation in many parts of the Global South, longer-term perspective on sustainability needed, specifically climate change, and needs longer-term perspective on changing rural economies (Scoones, 2009; De Haan and Zoomers, 2005; De Haan, 2012).

Another way of analyzing conflicts from the livelihood perspective is through the political economy approach (PEA). Political economy analysis is essentially concerned with the interaction of political and economic processes in a society. The approach focuses on the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals, and on the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time (Seddon and Adhikari, 2003). When applied to situations of conflict and crisis, the PEA seeks to understand both the political and the economic aspects of conflict, and how these combine to affect patterns of power and vulnerability (Collinson,

2003). The approach also provides an analysis of how the most vulnerable, marginal and least powerful groups in the community (in this case pastoral Maasai women) maintain a livelihood (Walker, 1989). Vulnerability in the context of PEA is conceptualised in terms of powerlessness rather than simply material need or the failure of basic 'entitlements' (Sen, 1981). Vulnerability and power are therefore analysed as a political and economic *process*, in terms, for instance, of neglect, exclusion or exploitation, in which a variety of groups and actors play a part (Le Billon, 2000). People are most vulnerable when their livelihoods and coping strategies are deliberately blocked or undermined, or if their group identity, political position and/or material circumstances make them particularly exposed to violence (Le Billon, 2000; Keen, 1994).

PEA takes context analysis beyond a 'snap-shot' approach to assessing the status and needs of particular groups or communities. It incorporates a wide historical and geographical perspective, seeking to explain why the relative power and vulnerability of different groups changes over time, and how the fortunes and activities of one group in society can affect others. It therefore encourages an understanding that is dynamic (by focusing on change), broad (by connecting changes in one place or group to those in another), longitudinal (by incorporating a historical perspective), and explanatory (by asking why certain people are affected by conflict and crisis in the ways that they are). If, by using this approach, agencies assess, anticipate and monitor vulnerable people's assistance and protection needs more effectively, it follows that they will be better equipped to plan and refine appropriate responses (Collinson et al., 2002). PEA is however limited to analyzing patterns of vulnerability holistically. Likewise, the approach does not consider that within the vulnerable, there are most vulnerable groups. Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) indicate that, although pastoral women play a crucial role as home managers and maintainers of family cohesion, they are treated as

second- class citizens in a male dominated society (Emecheta, 1974⁵; Lund, 2011; Ihucha, 2011).

Considering the strength and weaknesses of SLA and PEA, neither SLA nor PEA alone suffices to analyze land conflicts and the livelihood of pastoral Maasai women. This study therefore combines the political economy approach and sustainable livelihood approach [Figure 1] in the analysis of land conflicts and the livelihood of pastoral Maasai women in Kilosa. Combining SLA and PEA will provide a powerful means of linking complex factors shaping people's ability to survive. The central element of the combined model is the link between PEA and SLA in analysis of people's claims and entitlements to assets needed for an effective pursuit of sustainable and secure livelihood strategies in conflict-affected environments. The model indicates that pastoral women's livelihood security depends on access to and control of land, claims and entitlements to resources, as well as livelihood strategies they adopt.

Institutions mediate women's access to and control of land. By institutions, we refer to the formal and informal 'rules of the game' invented by societies to shape and regulate behavior, but these do not determine human behavior in economic, social and political life. So institutions are thus best thought of as durable social rules and procedures, formal and informal, which structure - but do not determine - the social, economic and political relations and interactions of those affected by them (Leftwich, 2006 and 2007). Institutions in this study refer to formal and informal rules of tenure, which condition social relations, actions and define how property rights to land are allocated within the societies. Likewise, institutions also define how access to rights to use and control land

⁵ Buchi Emecheta (a sociologist) defines the concept of 'Second Class Citizen' in relation to the manner in which women struggle for their survival, and get through their dreams while growing as women, in spite of impediments placed on their way (Emecheta, 1974). Borrowing her definition, second class citizen is intended to mean that pastoral women are not regarded as fully respected citizens in their own society, in contrast to the provisions of the Tanzanian constitution and land laws (1999).

is granted, as well as associated responsibilities and restraints. In simple terms, land tenure systems determine who can use what resources for how long and under what conditions. In Tanzania, land can be accessed through formal and informal institutions.

Helmke and Levitsky (2004) define informal institutions as sets of socially shared rules that are created, communicated and enforced outside official channels. These sets [which are usually un-written] includes traditional norms, customary practices, standard operating procedures, routines, conventions and gender relations, dictate the access that communal members have in relation to land and land resources (Agarwal, 2003). As far as broad concept of gender relations is concerned, Connell (2000, 2005) conceptualizes gender relations as being part of dynamic social life performed through daily interactions and practices, whereby individual actions collectively constitute and re-create prevailing understandings and enactments of masculinities and femininities but not in a uniform way. Connell describes four interconnected structures of gender relations: *production relations* [reflected in gender divisions of labor]; *power relations* [evident in the positioning of men as the dominant class in societal discourses and in the exercise of imperial powers]; *emotional relations* [these include the influence of hegemonic patterns and relationships in a variety of contexts such as households, workplace]; and *symbolic representations* of gender in society.

This work defines gender relations as ways in which a society defines rights, responsibilities, and identities of pastoral women in relation to access to and use of land and land resources. Schneider (1979) and Hodgson (1999) note that, among the East African pastoralists, differences in access to and control over key livelihood resources such as land by men and women reflect the kind of gender power relations in pastoral areas. Women in these communities have limited access, ownership, and control over critical resources such as land and livestock (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). Spencer alleged that both male and female Matapato Maasai pastoralists believe in ‘the undisputed right of men to own women as “possessions”’. Spencer continues to assert that, even during marriage, traditionally a woman is regarded as a possession

transferred from her father who reared her to her husband who rules her (Spencer, 1998, p. 198). This implies that women's access to critical resources is mediated by their relationships with men.

Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008), Eyenew and Mengistu (2013) confirms that, in pastoral societies, women play different central roles in their societies ranging from livestock keepers, natural resource managers, income generators, and service providers, tasks which, in of themselves, are influenced by gendered norms, values, and relations. This work therefore looks at the gender roles within pastoralist Maasai society, and the related issue of gender power imbalances. Amongst pastoralists, land is not considered as an asset of value, [to be sold and bought], but rather managed according to the family, lineage structures as well as marriage practices.

Whereas men control land and land resources, women on the other hand predominantly gain access through their relationship with their male kin [fathers, brothers and sons]. Often times, traditional customs that already deeply embedded in the societies as part of the patriarchal culture and have strong local acceptance and influence will prevail (Young and Sing'Oei, 2011). Formal institutions on the other hand refer to (written) laws and regulations, which influence land tenure and are enforced by the state. The enforcement is exercised at different political-administrative structures of power located at different levels of decision-making. These levels includes the [National, district and village levels] assumed by bureaucrats that determine the manner in which people gain access to and use of land and land resources.

Whereas political structures refers to councilors, district commissioners, village chairpersons and others, the administrative realm reflects the powers of the administrative technocrats in the village and district levels that also determines and influence people's access to and use of land and land resources.

The work conceptualizes that land legislations may establish equal rights of ownership to land to both women and men and even go a step further to reform existing tenure institutions to ensure gender equality in relation to land parcels. However, the enforcement of the law depends on institutional, political and social factors that mediate men and women's access to such existing equal rights. Such contextual factors may facilitate, or make it more problematic for pastoral women, to achieve an adequate livelihood. Oftentimes, traditional customs and practices that already have strong local recognition and influence will prevail regardless of the formal institutional requirements.

Markets are conceptualized as part of the institutions that are deeply embedded in social and political context, and in this regard, they also determine how pastoralist men and women access land and land resources. They coexist with, are shaped by, and depend on other social relations. In land market regulated economies, rights to land are largely based on private property rights and the marketability of these rights. Markets do not automatically confer secure property rights, accurate information, offer a medium of exchange, or generate sufficient numbers of buyers and sellers. Frequently, government plays some kind of role in the satisfaction of these preconditions. Governments promulgate and enforce formal property rights. Although this could provide equal platform of access for both women and men to buy land, the global market economy exacerbates existing disparities. As land becomes a marketable asset and available land becomes scarcer, household and members of the society may undermine the secondary rights of access women previously enjoyed, particularly in the case of widowed and divorced women. Institutions have a direct impact upon pastoral women's ability to achieve a feeling of wellbeing. Culture is included in this area in accounting for some other 'unexplained' differences in the 'way things are done' in different societies (DFID, 2000).

Likewise, access to and control of land is mediated by trends and shocks. People's claims and entitlement to the above noted livelihood resources (assets) are determined by: their vulnerability to trends and shocks, over which they have limited or no control, and have a great influence on people's livelihoods and on the wider availability of assets (DFID, 2004). In this study trends include long-term changes in rainfall and temperature patterns, food production, population; land governance patterns (privatization/ reforms of land) associated with encroachment and private enclosure of land. These trends may impact pastoral women's livelihood in their quality of home managers. Shocks such as prolonged drought, conflict associated with access to land and land resources, loss of livestock (from diseases), eviction and displacement are some of the issues which might suddenly reduce pastoral women's resource base or their access to key livelihood assets (natural, physical, financial, social, and human capital). Likewise, the vulnerability of pastoral Maasai women, and their ability to mitigate shocks, is linked to their assets.

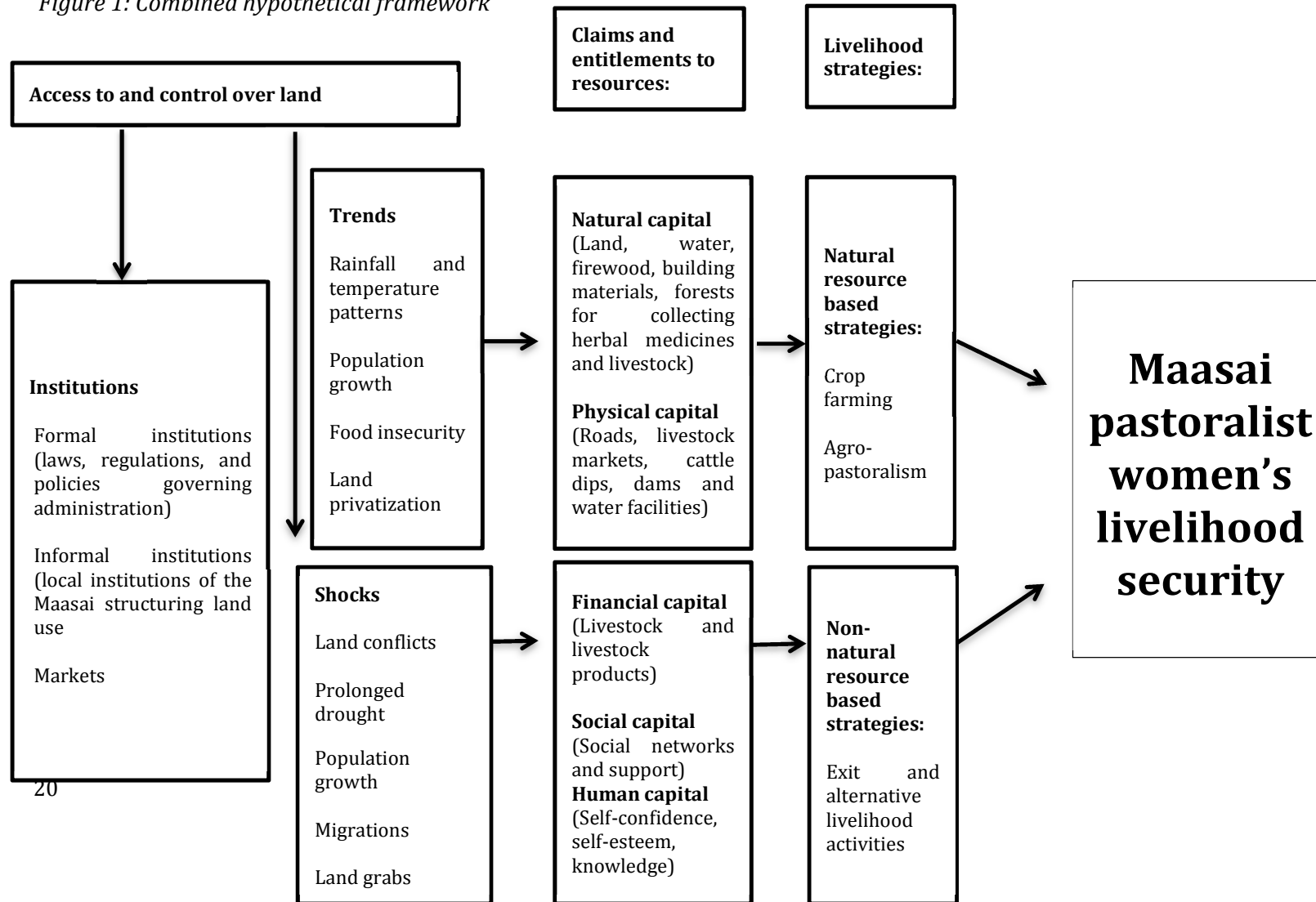
The status of Maasai pastoralist women's livelihood results from a complex interplay between access to and control of land and influence of institutions; effects of trends and shocks and how they affect women's claims and entitlements to the pool of resources (assets); and livelihood strategies – the range and combination of activities and choices that the women may make or undertake in order to meet their various needs at different times and achieve their livelihood goals. This work classifies the strategies as natural resource based and non-natural resource based strategies. Natural resource based livelihood strategies would be new agriculture-based activities such as crop cultivation to produce cereals and vegetables as an alternative for meat.

Equally, changes in food consumption patterns from traditional food to other types of food include adoption of petty business such as selling goats, and ruminants like chickens and traditional herbs. Non-natural based strategies on the other hand may include an increased material assets acquisition such as houses, or selling local chicken, eggs and milk, as well as petty trading. Therefore the hypothetical framework

[summarized in Figure 1] entails an understanding of land conflicts and the livelihood of pastoral Maasai women which involves the analysis of institutions, shocks and trends, which influence claims and entitlements to livelihood assets (either natural, physical, financial social and personal).

The women may adopt number of strategies (natural resource based or non-natural resource based) to adapt to the changing climate, insuring food security as well as embracing land reforms. These in totality provide a detailed understanding of land conflicts and the livelihood of pastoral Maasai women.

Figure 1: Combined hypothetical framework



1.8 Genesis, Justification and Significance of the Research

1.8.1 Genesis of the Research

This research work was inspired by previous experience in women studies, in 2001-2003, exploring the reasons for the few women representatives in local decision-making positions in two districts in Morogoro, Tanzania. During this period, the researcher discovered a group of women who are not only rural, but also culturally marginalized. These pastoralist women were unable to speak to outsiders unless permitted by pastoralist men due to stringent cultural norms that determined power relations between men and women (Massoi, 2003). This raised curiosity, and a desire to understand the women's access to and use of land as well, particularly in relation to conflict, food insecurity and climatic variability, which were observed as affecting communities at that time. A theme was formulated along these lines and a literature review, and field visits to various sites in the district was completed between in 2010 and 2013.⁶ The initial investigation intended to explore land use conflicts in Kilosa including identifying associated factors and actors involved in the conflicts as well as ascertaining responses by women pastoralists and other actors such as the state and the community in relation to climate, food shortage, and reforms in land as they relate to land conflict dynamics in Kilosa. The researcher's knowledge of public administration and public policy helped to inform the study and led to the interest in the current research theme.

1.8.2 Justification for the Research

Communal land use conflicts are slowly turning the 'haven of peace' as Tanzania is often called, into a 'haven of conflicts' (William, 2011). Issues of land grabbing and conflicts,

⁶ Preliminary and field visits to Mabwegere, Ngaiti, Twatwatwa, Kiduhi, pastoralists' settlements, informal interviews with pastoralists and local leaders (district, ward and sub-village)

included. Moreover, as noted, although a large body of literature exists in Tanzania on land conflicts (Maganga et al., 2007; Shao, 2008; Benjaminsen et al., 2009; Kings, 2013), there has been little focus on the gendered aspect of the conflicts, particularly amongst pastoral societies such as the Maasai. Isinika and Mutabazi (2010) do address the subject of land conflicts and gender in their study of the Wabena and pastoral Sukuma in Njombe District, Tanzania. However, a similar study has not been carried out on the pastoral Maasai. Likewise, while the works of Maganga et al (2007) and Benjaminsen et al (2009) both explain that conflict affects the entire community but the subject was not considered from a gendered perspective.

Similarly, while issues of women, land ownership and uses have dominated political and policy advocacy debates and legal battles for a long time in Tanzania (Manji, 1998; Razavi, 2003; Tsikata, 2003; Yngstrom, 2002; Shivji, 2008; Daley and Englert, 2010), the specific topic of pastoral land rights, land use conflicts, and women has not really been covered. Similarly, despite a recognition that climate is increasingly projected to pastoral livelihoods in African countries like Tanzania, and the climate - conflict issue being controversial and hotly debated in literature (Raleigh and Urdal, 2007; Hoste and Vlassenroot, 2009, Schilling, 2010; Obika and Bibangambah, 2013), to date much of the research has ignored the gendered impacts of these changes and impacts on women. Lastly, while land use conflicts in Tanzania are well documented, the issue of food security and women's livelihood is less examined. Pastoralism is one of the main livelihood systems in Tanzania and one of the largest producers of beef, which mainly comes from pastoral areas (Kipuri and Sørensen, 2008). Women play central roles, distinct from those of men, in pastoral livelihoods, and therefore need to be considered specifically in discussions about impacts of conflict and other livelihood pressures.

The work takes a case approach using Kilosa district, one of the hotspot areas in Tanzania in terms of land-use conflicts between pastoralists and farmers. It consists of a large wetland area, highly valuable to rice farmers, pastoralists, fishers, and investors. It is also home to wildlife, with the fourth largest national park located there. Land-use

conflicts in Kilosa are frequent and usually associated with access to and use of land, water for livestock grazing, irrigation, farming, or access to a plot for farming or grazing, and investment. Such characteristics make the area relevant to examine how conflicts impacts on women in the light of climate change, food security.

Lastly, Kilosa was chosen because nearly all major livestock keeping ethnic communities in Tanzania such as Barbaigs, Sukuma, Gogos, Kamba, and Maasai ethnic groups who have over time been affected by the vagaries of climate, ethnic disputes, and policy decisions, have, in the main, fled into Kilosa to secure their livelihoods (Beidelman, 1967; URT, 1994; Maganga, Odgaard, and Sjaastad, 2007; Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003). This would be expected to predispose the area to land-use conflicts, which would have important gendered impacts.

1.8.3 Significance of the Research

This work is significant for both policy and academia. The issue of land grabbing and conflict is, as noted an increasing phenomenon in the East Africa Region, Tanzania included. Further climate variability and climate change are increasingly dominating global and local debates on the land question, and both arid and semi-arid areas and certain people groups in these areas are noted to be much more vulnerable to climate shocks like conflicts. Yet, pastoral women have tended not to receive adequate attention in these debates. Therefore, the study contributes to informing the policy makers and academia of the existing debate, and appropriate interventions to mitigate conflicts from a gender perspective. At the theoretical level, this study contributes to the understanding of impacts of land use conflicts in pastoral societies from a gendered perspective using a political economy approach. This approach seeks to understand both the political and the economic aspects of conflict, and how these combine to affect patterns of power and vulnerability.

1.8.4 Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is logically structured into seven chapters. Chapter one introduces the study. A summary of the theoretical perspectives and discussions, and various arguments concerning land conflicts, climate change food security and their impact on gender are presented and discussed. It gives the research problem, main research objective and general questions guiding the study and discussions concerning these. It provides a hypothetical framework that maps the study, developed from the combination of PEA and SLA. The chapter also presents the focus of the study that marks a departure from the main theoretical debates and existing gaps in literature. Chapter two presents and discusses the methodological approach, tools and methods used to collect, analyse and present the findings. Descriptive information of the study area is provided along with study limitations. Ethical issues are considered, with regard to the vulnerability and sensitivity of the subjects under consideration, when describing traumatic conflict experiences in a politically charged environment. Chapter three presents and discusses theoretical and empirical findings in relation to land laws and reforms in Tanzania, Kilosa in particular. In these discussions, the manner in which their implementation has affected pastoral women's livelihoods is also discussed and analyzed.

Chapter four presents and discusses the theoretical arguments governing land conflicts, gender and pastoral women. Then, empirical findings are presented on the kinds of land conflicts in Kilosa and how they are linked to Maasai women and gender roles and relations. The state response to land conflicts and how this impacts on women is also considered. Chapter five concerns the phenomenon of climate change. It explores the meteorological data and community experiences of climate change in Kilosa, and how these may or may not link to conflict. The gendered impact of climate change (and conflict) is then considered. In chapter six, the issue of food insecurity and conflicts is considered, and again, particular focus on pastoral women is maintained. The main reason for this question is to obtain information on the manner within which food

insecurity, triggered or exacerbated by conflicts impacts on the pastoral women livelihood as food managers. Chapter seven is about the general conclusions and policy implications drawn in relation to the research study.

Chapter Two

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology employed in this study to understand the issue of land conflicts and the manner in which they affect the livelihood position of Maasai pastoralist women. A qualitative case oriented research design was chosen to achieve the above research objective due to also its methodological pluralism and flexibility in gathering information (Bryman 1989; Creswell, 2003). The study was carried in Kilosa district of southeastern Tanzania, Morogoro district with a focus on the four Maasai pastoralist village in Kilosa: Mabwegere, Ngaiti, Parakuyo, and Kiduhi.

The chapter begins with the presentation of the research design, followed by detailed description of the study area and the reasons why the site was selected. Afterwards, a description of the procedures used to sample respondents is provided, followed by the explanation of the methods used to collect and analyze the data. Finally the chapter considers a presentation of the methodological caveats and limitations, and attempts to overcome these. Such limitations are inherent to a political economy approach and qualitative research design. In the same vein, the reliability and validity of data and research ethics (including confidentiality and data clearance process) is also considered.

2.2 Study Area: Kilosa District

This study was carried in Kilosa District; where there is a long history of land use conflicts (KDC, 2010), with a land size of 14,245 square Kilometers, corresponding to about 20% of the land area of Morogoro region (Beidelman, 1960; KDC, 2010). The district is located in east central Tanzania approximately 300 km west of Dar es Salaam. Kilosa borders the following districts: Kiteto (Manyara Region) and Kilindi (Tanga Region) to the North; Mvomero (Morogoro Region) to the East; Kilolo (Iringa Region) and Kilombero (Morogoro Region) to the South; and Mpwapwa District (Dodoma Region) to the West (Figure 2).

Bounded by latitudes 5°55' and 7°53' South and longitudes 36°30' and 37°30' East; Kilosa has climatic conditions which vary depending on the agro-ecological zones. The highest parts of the district found in the Ukaguru, Rubeho, and Vidunda Mountains, at

around 2200m above sea level, get annual rainfall between 1000 mm – 1600mm; this area has moderately fertile well-drained soil, comprising sandy (clay) loam soil. The central and southern parts experience an average rainfall of 800mm – 1400mm and have poorly drained black clay and loamy soils, suitable for maize, paddy, sisal, sugarcane, and onion cultivation. Normally short rains are from October to December and long rain from February to May. The annual temperature is typically between 25°C and 30°C. Land use activities are divided into five categories: agricultural (37.5 per cent), natural pasture (33.5 per cent), Mikumi National Park (22.5 per cent), forest reserves (5.5 per cent) and urban areas, water and swamps (1 per cent) (KDC, 2010). More than 80% of the community in Kilosa depends on land for their livelihoods through crop cultivation and livestock keeping. The district livestock census carried out in 2000 put the key livestock population at 172,000 indigenous cattle, 1,000 improved cattle stock, 87,000 goats and 23,000 sheep (KDC, 2010).

the Bena, the Nyakyusa, Ngoni, Chagga and Pare, Maasai, Barbaig, Gogo and some Sukuma as well as Kamba. Existing literature indicates that, Kilosa population has been on the increase, and among the factors include large influx of all major livestock keeping ethnic communities in Tanzania⁷ who have been affected by the vagaries of climate, ethnic disputes, and policy decisions, the majority move into Kilosa to secure their livelihoods (Maganga, Odgaard, and Sjaastad, 2007; Benjaminsen, Maganga, and Abdallah, 2009; Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003). This factor may contribute to the chronic nature of conflicts in Kilosa, a reason that justifies the choice of Kilosa as the case study area.

Moreover, existing climatic projections claim that Morogoro region; Kilosa inclusive is likely to be affected by global climatic variations (NAPA, 2007; Paavoala, 2008) further justifying the choice of Kilosa for the present study. Lastly, Kilosa district falls under the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor (SAGCOT).⁸ The existing dynamics of land reforms and the possible implications of the emphasis on crop cultivation in the light of on-going large scale production for food, industrial demands, and biofuels, will have a certain impact on pastoralist livelihoods, including those of pastoralist women. The land is very fertile; with 37 rivers originating from Ukaguru and Rubeho Mountains to Wami Ruvu and Ruaha Basins on the way to Indian Ocean. Amongst them, 26 rivers are permanently supplying water on the low lands which is suitable for irrigation farming (KDC, 2010).

However, some rivers are drying up (Munishi, 2013), leaving some land users short of water. It is worth noting that, as with other pastoralist- farmer conflicts in Tanzania, the problem in Kilosa has been on-going from pre-colonial through colonial, and post-colonial eras and has increased in pace (Benjaminsen et al, 2009; Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003). Remarkable incidences of pastoralist- farmers land conflicts in

⁷ That is: Barbaig, Sukuma, Gogo, Kamba, and Maasai ethnic groups

⁸ This is comprehensive, multi-stakeholder partnership to rapidly develop the region's agricultural potential initiated at the World Economic Forum (WEF) Africa summit 2010 with the support of founding partners including farmers, agri-business, the Government of Tanzania and companies from across the private sector. Key objective of SAGCOT is to foster inclusive, commercially successful agribusinesses that will benefit the region's small-scale farmers, consequently ensuring food security, rural poverty reduction, and environmental sustainability. For more information see <http://www.sagcot.com/>

Kilosa may be found as far back as 1890 when the Ilparakuyo (known as Baraguyu by other scholars)⁹ Maasai pastoralists came from northern parts of Tanzania in 1890 into northern parts of Kilosa in search for water and pasture land in order to sustain their livelihoods (KDC, 2011). The Gogos, Sagaras, Kaguru, and the Nguu ethnic groups resisted the Maasai immigration, a situation that resulted into violent conflict between the groups. From key informant interviews¹⁰ and confirmed by Beidelman (1967), this violent conflict resulted into several people being injured with few deaths, internal displacement of families and properties, food insecurity [as several fields that belonged to the farmers were also destroyed as well as loss of Baraguyu livestock].

Administratively, the district is divided into 9 administrative divisions, which are in turn subdivided into 36 wards and 164 registered villages and 1010 hamlets (sub-villages). Within these villages, pastoralists are located in eight settlements namely: Twatwatwa, Kiduhi, Madoto, Ngaiti-Luhoza, Mfilisi, Godesi, Mabwegere and Kwambe, (KDC, 2010). This work focuses mainly on four pastoralist villages namely: Mabwegere (Ngoisani sub-village) in Dumila ward; Twatwatwa (Parakuyo sub-village) in Rudewa ward; Malangali (Ngaiti - Luhoza sub-village) in Mabwerebwere Ward; and Kiduhi (Kiduhi sub-village) in Kilangali ward. These villages were selected because a large proportion of Maasai pastoralists reside there, and increasingly land use conflicts between different land users are reported to be prevalent in these areas (Maganga et al., 2007; Benjaminsen et al., 2009; KDC, 2010).

2.3 Research Timetable

Given the focus on micro-level dynamics of crisis and conflicts, long-term fieldwork in Kilosa was an indispensable cornerstone of the research, involving several long visits. As Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers (2004) and Busher (2011) have noted in their research works of a similar nature, long term stays are essential to gain deeper insights into how local societies understand their changing political, social, cultural and economic environment and how they try to deal with it. An essential 'technique' of

⁹ See Beidelman, 1967

¹⁰ Key informant interview response at Kilosa district office, 25th October, 2010

doing ethnographic fieldwork in Kilosa, was residing in the district. Integration in the local setting as a resident enabled grasping particularities of the local reality, which would otherwise have remained unapproachable. It was a crucial way to achieve a better, locally informed understanding of what Kilosa is today.

The process of data collection for this research covered a total of four years (2010 – 2014). However, given the nature of the PhD project, which was a sandwich course, the arrangement made several field visits possible. In order to ensure systematic data collection and analysis, the first phase of field work was between October 2010 and March 2011). Since it was the first visit, most of the time was spent mapping, orientation and introduction to the people as a participant observer, and conducting a few impromptu interviews, and key informant interviews with government. The second phase of fieldwork was in 2012 and lasted a year, spent in a household at Parakuyo sub-village, with some travel back and forth to Dar es Salaam. After this phase, the researcher continued collecting data while in the data analysis stage, between 2013 and 2014, sometimes by physically going back to the field, and sometimes communicating through research assistants and over the telephone.

2.4 Research Approach

The research approach was largely qualitative in nature, although on a few occasions some quantitative data was used (particularly in relation to climatic and conflict trends). A deep theoretical discussion of the uses and limitations of the two methods has been covered by many authors and is not reproduced here (Corbetta, 2003; Creswell, 2003; Yin, 2006; Maxwell, 1998; 2013). However, it is worth highlighting the particular aspects of the largely qualitative approach used as relates to the chosen context. Maxwell (2013: viii) points out key essentials for qualitative research: Qualitative research helps to better understand: *first*, meanings and perspectives of the people studied, *second*, how these perspectives are shaped by, and shape, their physical, social and cultural context and *third*, the specific processes that are involved in maintaining or altering the phenomena and relationships. Unlike quantitative research which is structured and theory precedes observations, qualitative research is rather more open

and interactive and observations to some extent precede theory (Corbetta, 2003). In this study, a qualitative approach was considered to be the most appropriate to capture livelihood experiences, emotions, feelings and social processes (Maxwell, 1996).

Thus it was possible to understand Maasai women's pastoral livelihoods from their own perspectives, at the same time understanding how for instance the wider political context of the structures, institutions and organizations shapes their livelihood and how they also shape these contexts. In the same vein, it was possible to focus on the specific context in which Maasai pastoralists live and make their livelihoods and better understand their historical social and cultural contexts. Writers such as Denzin and Lincoln (1994), Maxwell (1996; 2003), Patton (2002) and Creswell (2007) also support this view of understanding the world. According to Patton, qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as "real world setting in which the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2002, pp. 39-40), but rather attempts to unveil the truth.

This study takes a micro-ethnography or ethnographic inspired approach to analyze land conflicts and pastoral women livelihoods in Kilosa. Micro-ethnography combines elements of ethnography or ethnomethodology and multimodal discourse analysis in studying human practices and dynamic social systems, for the purpose of formulating insights within specific contexts or institutions [Garcez, 1997].

While it also takes observation and environment into account, micro-ethnography focuses largely on how people negotiate consent with attention given to social, cultural, and political processes. Micro-ethnography may be coupled with statistical data to form a more complete understanding of the question at hand as well as ethnographic methods such as interviews and participant observations; all in an effort to better understand practices and problems. This provides understanding of the wider political and the economic aspects of conflict, and how these combine to affect patterns of power and vulnerability, particularly on pastoral Maasai women which cannot be directly captured; rather, it needs to be approached through an interactive process that involves

reflection, interpretation, flexibility and particularly the use of multiple inquiry techniques including participant observation and in-depth interviews, as opposed to the quantitative approach (Maxwell 1996; Creswell, 2007).

Literature within the traditional ethnographic research argues that, in order to “engage respondents and learn their worlds, their ways of seeing, and their ways of doing, and being” to obtain data (Grills, 1998:16), a researcher requires a time of 3 or more years in the field of study (see Geertz, 1973; Grills, 1998; Leedy and Ormrod, 2005; Schwartz, 2009; Adam, 2010). This was however, not the case with this study as I spent 2 years in field on sandwich mode and the other time (2 years) in Belgium as part of the programme. Redding-Jones when arguing for micro-ethnography or ethnographic-inspired research, indicates that spending long period in the field is not necessarily guarantee gathering, producing and constructing data (Redding-Jones, 2005, p. 72). It is rather a kind of intellectual effort to make an elaborate and thick description that matters (Geertz, 1973: p.5-6). In this regards, I made efforts as far as possible during my field work in Kilosa to engage very closely with the Maasai pastoralists, to generate understanding of their institutions from the ‘insider’s point of view’.

2.5 Sampling and Data Collection

Purposive and snowballing sampling methods were used to select villages (Malangali, Twatwatwa and Mabwegere villages) and respondents where land disputes and land alienation have been prevalent. This was done at three levels: Government officials (In all tiers from village to central) including security officials (central, regional and district levels). Selection and determination of the sample size is built on the argument that, there is no hard and fast rule in qualitative research on sample size (Travers, 2001). In view of that argument, I had a total sample size of 60, and the distribution of this sample is elaborated in the coming sections hereunder.

The use of multiple data collection methods (triangulation) is considered useful particularly when case studies are used (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). Using various sources of empirical materials provided the rigor and breadth of understanding of the phenomenon under study. Additionally, the ethnographic approach aimed at capturing

“the social meanings and ordinary activities of the informants in its naturally occurring settings” (Brewer, 2000: p.10) and the fieldwork involved a mix of primary and secondary data in order to avoid subjective bias. To obtain primary data, the following ethnographic techniques were used: participant observation, telephone and in-depth interviews, photographs, and focus group discussions with the intention of facilitating a relationship which would permit more personal and in-depth description from the informants.

2.6 Primary Data Sources: Participant Observation, Focus groups and Interviews

Participant observations were helpful in witnessing factual situations and perceive reality without interventions (Buckley et al., 1976) and in a “systematic and scientifically rigorous way” (Field and Graham, 2003: p.64). With the ethnographic-inspired approach, involving considerable time in Kilosa, and in order to study the phenomenon within its social and cultural context, participant observation was applied. This is what Thiels terms as “the fine art of extended and attentive hanging out” (Thiels, 2012, p. 1).

Participant observation by its informal nature assisted in filling the gaps left by the more formal and organized methods such as focus groups and interviews. Such a method was employed in a series of events such as cattle markets, milking activities, and even in the areas where women produced charcoal. Participation in these activities enabled understanding of how different roles women and somehow their children play subjects them to risk of rapes, abduction in the course of conflicts. Observation was supplemented with impromptu interviews enabling the probing of issues as they came up, and photographing of events with the help of a digital camera,¹¹ with the consent of the participants. The use of *impromptu interviews* was confined to the local communities. It had a disadvantage in that in many situations, responses were very scanty, short and

¹¹ These pictures are found across different chapters of this thesis.

in some way discouraging, although they assisted in formulating the themes. For instance, the researcher wished to know the price of the cattle in the market at the Parakuyo sub-village But the Maasai asked somewhat suspiciously ‘Why do you want to know while you don’t seem to be the buyer?’ Impromptu interviews were helpful therefore in the beginning, in order to gain acceptance from the respondents, break the ice, and establish a cooperative relationship with them (Gobo, 2008:p.191).

Focus group discussions were used to generate group interactions and more discussions of the information obtained during in-depth interviews (Knodel, 1995, pp. 8-9). It also helped to have some checks and balances on the observations and interview responses from respondents; thus lessening fabricated and extreme views. These are some of the qualities which interview method [both in-depth and telephone interviews] was unable to generate. In the course of the discussions, participants expressed their opinions and views freely and spontaneously on the subject based on their life experiences and understanding (Flick et al., 2004), regarding the different ways in which land use conflicts and climate related factors affects the livelihood position of women. In addition, since it was intended to explore Maasai women’s livelihood experiences in relation to conflicts, focus group discussions were useful due to their flexibility in: first, allowing the use of researcher as a moderator to explore unanticipated issues and encourage group participations and interactions (Bohnsack, 2004), second, in providing a rich source of useful information since the dialogue take place in the language of the people in the focus group discussion [Swahili and Maa-language] rather than being translated into the terminology of the researcher (Bloor et al., 2001:p.7). These qualities promoted the choice of focus group discussions as another source of primary data.

From observations, confirmed by others such as Ngoitiko (2008) and Misafi (2014), a strong patriarchal culture and customs restrain Maasai women to speak in any gathering in front of men. Such norms promoted the need for separate focus group discussions for women and men in both villages, thus simulating an environment within which thoughts and views of the participants will freely come out and generate discussions and consensus among them. Of the four pastoral settlements covered in this research, 2 such groups were composed one of women and the other of men. With the

help of a research assistant, the names of the participants were selected purposively from the village register, and the respective village chairperson assisted to establish their availability in the village and willingness to participate in the discussions. This was also done for the interviews.

In all the focus group discussions, the number of participants ranged between 10 and 15 members. In both groups, the researcher acted as a moderator and this provided the participants a free will to talk and even arguing in Maa. For instance, on most occasions, participants tried to dominate the group as they aired their emotional experience of the conflicts. This situation indicates the intensity of feelings stirred by the conflict situations. *Interviews* are amongst the most useful techniques to collect primary data, as they permit not only live interactions between interviewer and interviewee, but also valid and reliable data. In Kilosa, interviews assisted in grasping meanings and interpretations from the respondents, which were not directly observable (Gobo, 2008: p.191). Interviews may take several forms: In-depth interviews, key informant interviews and on some occasions telephone interviews were used for this work. Questions were unstructured which was the most useful in providing oral accounts of daily events, interactions, and changes observed over time (Blaikie, 2000). Interviews with key informants [Maasai elders, elderly Maasai women, and government and security officials] were also a most important source of information and offering insight and corroborating evidence (Yin, 1988; 2003).

In-depth interviews were carried out with government officials in administrative and security positions (at the village and sub-village; district, and central government level). At the central level, I was able to hold an interview with the Inspector General of Police (IGP)¹² and Permanent Secretary- Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human settlement.¹³

¹² In October, 2010 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

¹³ In October 2010 in Kampala, Uganda during the International conference of land for East Africa, which he also attended

At the regional level, it was possible to engage the Regional Police Commander for Morogoro Region and the Officer Commanding the Criminal Investigation Department for the region. These interviews assisted in understanding how issues of conflict and security in Kilosa have been handled and what plans have been made for future mitigation.

In Kilosa district interviews were obtained with: The District Administrative Secretary, District Executive Director, Heads of Departments [Community Development and Social Welfare and Planning], District Agricultural and Livestock Officers, and the District Land Officer. Amongst the police it was possible to speak with the Officer Commanding the District, the Officer Commanding the Criminal Investigation for the District, and the officer commanding the Station. The total number of respondents in this category was 20 government officials. Maasai elders also consented to be interviewed, and one elder in each pastoral settlement was selected, making a total of 4 elders, and 1 Maasai spiritual leader 'Olegwenan'. As a patriarchal society, it was important to include their views on the subject under study. 6 in-depth interviews were held with Maasai women. Discussion of personal matters such as rape during conflict, and relationship matters necessitated a more private setting than focus groups. Generally, these interviews were unstructured and lasted between 1 to 3 hours.

In addition to in-depth interviews discussed above, *telephone interviews* were carried out with 3 village chairpersons, 2 Maasai elders and 4 Maasai pastoralist women. These were respondents who had been earlier interviewed in person. The objective of this interview was to clarify and update information previously collected. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 1 hour. Although it has been suggested that telephone interviews are short, so as to avoid people feeling to be imposed upon (Creswell, 1998), network problems required longer time.

2.7 Secondary and Archival Sources

Documentary sources were a useful source of secondary data, with both existing studies and archival records used. Archives offered rich information, providing an opportunity for the re-examination of existing recorded facts (Myers and Avison, 2002). Various

38

public documents were examined both in hard copy and electronic formats. These included minutes of the meetings, organization reports and records, which were used to triangulate and support data obtained through primary sources. Of particular importance for this research study were the National Land Policy (1995), Land Acts (1999)¹⁴, and Tanzania Investment Act (1996), and the floods assessment report for Kilosa district (2009).

In addition, *archives* also provided useful data related to climatic and conflict trends. Secondary sources offer “an appropriate basic source of evidence for a given study” (Skocpol, 1984:p.382). Land use conflicts in Tanzania, particularly in relation to pastoralism, have generated a wide range of scholarly and policy related studies in the area (Benjaminsen et al., 2009; Mung’ong’o and Mwamfupe, 2003; Maganga et al., 2007; Munishi, 2013). Within these studies for instance, some have explored issues of climate related factors (Paavoala, 2003; Munishi, 2013) and food security, and dynamics of land use conflicts in different parts of Tanzania, including Kilosa (Benjaminsen et al., 2009). Studies by Maganga et al (2007) and Benjaminsen et al (2009), confirm the gender blindness of literature on this topic.

2.8 Ethical Considerations

As noted several sources contributed to the research including government officials, police and Maasai community members, both women and men. Three ethical issues predominated in this research, gatekeeper clearance, informed consent and anonymity and confidentiality of the subjects. Ethical considerations came into every part of the process from problem formulation and design of the research to data collection and reporting of the research findings. Attempts were made at every stage to ensure that subjects were not harmed, nor human rights violated, physically, psychologically or sociologically (see Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996). The focus was on ensuring that the research subjects were highly respected, maintained, and not placed at risk (Michael

¹⁴ These include the Land Act No. 4, 1999 and the Village Land Act No. 5, 1999

and Weinberger, 1977), nor are data disclosed for unintended purposes (Creswell, 2009). Permission to carry out the study was granted by the Kilosa District Executive Director through a formal letter, which was addressed to all Ward and Village Executive Officers in the District. This is an essential requirement in Tanzania for all researchers to obtain and carry the letter at all times during the research.

Informed consent whereby, “individuals choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of facts that are likely to affect their decisions” (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:p.83) was consistently implemented in the data collection process. The concept arises from both cultural values and legal considerations regarding subjects’ participation freedom and self-determination. It may be obtained in person or through representative organizations. Since both the government officials and the local community in Kilosa are represented by the state organizations, and at the same time the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania grants each citizen a right and freedom of participation (URT 1977: s. 21 (2)), it was necessary to use both forms of informed consent. This was complex at the local level requiring consent for interviewing women to come not only from themselves, but also from village authorities, elders and husbands, and women. Anonymity and confidentiality was preserved as a moral necessity throughout the research. All names have been changed or withheld to safeguard potential repercussions for interviewees and focus group members.

2.9 Reporting and Analysis

Data analysis is a matter of examining, categorizing, tabulating, and arranging evidence depending on the category of data to be analyzed (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996). Data collected in this study were largely qualitative in nature, requiring qualitative methods of data analysis in order to illuminate, understand, and extrapolate the situation under study rather than to generalize (Hoepf, 1997). Analyses of ethnographic data are undertaken in an inductive thematic manner: identifying and to categorizing themes and key issues that ‘emerge’ from the data.

This began in the preliminary visit and assisted to generate tentative theoretical explanations from the empirical work. Qualitative responses obtained from the participants were then analysed progressively at each stage of data collection. The intention was to generate a pattern that related the research arguments and data collected. Thereafter, results from qualitative sources were matched against each other in order to identify agreements or disagreements in data. This involved the process of triangulation of primary data with secondary data. Finally, connections among data sources were established and these were related to the general research questions. An intensive triangulation of data from different sources in relation to the research problem and questions was undertaken.

2.10 Data Reliability and Validity

Quantitative researchers often criticize validity and reliability of qualitative research partly on the ground that, its research findings cannot be generalized or used to predict similar situations in other cases (Saunders et al., 2009; Kothari, 2004). However, proponents of qualitative strategies insist that, qualitative based results should be evaluated on the basis of precision (Winter, 2000), credibility, transferability, dependability and trustworthiness in its application and interpretation (Hoepf, 1997; Maxwell 1996; Silverman, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). This implies that, validity is not about an objective truth against which the credibility of results and conclusions are measured, for it is not necessary for a study to identify the ultimate truth for it to be believable; it is enough to identify a basis for making conclusions. Key issues one must focus on asking in evaluating the validity of the research findings should: did the research tools [interviews, focus group discussions] measure what they were intended to measure? Is there consistency in their applications? Are the conclusions consistent with the research arguments or questions? The following measures were taken.

In the course of embarking on the research, the researcher was conscious of the challenge that, what people say about their behaviors during interviews for instance can contrast with their actual actions. Therefore, in order to enhance the quality of the work

and avoid bias, a variety of different sources of data in several different settings and points in time have been used (Denzin, 2009) and triangulated.

Balancing objectivity and subjectivity was an important tension in the work. The long engagement in the field resulted into an intimate involvement between the researcher and the respondents. In some situations, choosing and balancing between competing obligations (Grills, 1998:13) was difficult. As women and other key informants shared their conflict and eviction experiences, it was an emotional experience for the researcher and tempting to become an activist. For example, when one of the victims of Operation Kilosa (2009) shared how she lost her pregnancy in the process of running and hiding, it was impossible to remain in an 'outsider' position and the meeting was adjourned until the next day.

2.11 Scope of the Research

Although land conflicts go as far back as colonial times, the study intends to focus strongly on the on-going conflicts that emerged since the 1990s. Similarly, although land conflicts are taking place in several areas: Arusha Region [Ngorongoro, Longido, Monduli, Arusha] and Manyara region [Kiteto, Simanjiro, Tarangire]¹⁵, the focus is on Kilosa district only, and the experiences of Maasai pastoralist women. These women are viewed through social relations and transaction outcomes that affect land possession, livestock grazing, survival income, and household access to daily commodities. There are several reasons as to why this focus was chosen.

Generally, Byrne (1996), Baden (1997), and Tadesse et al (2010) argue that, due to conflict, women suffer from loss of income, sexual abuse, and loss of access to livelihood assets like land, social networks and increase in workload. In support of the same is Mkutu (2008) who insists that conflict impacts are gender differentiated. Secondly,

¹⁵ For detailed information on pastoralism and their locations in Tanzania see the work of Olajammi (2006), Lukumay (2008) Benjaminsen et al., (2009), Maganga et al., (2007), Kweka (2011), Mung'ong'o (2010).

existing gendered power relation places women secondary when it comes to access to and use of livelihood resources. Women are viewed as 'properties' at different level of their life cycle. As girls, they are properties of their fathers, and it is the role of the mothers to prepare them to be owned by another men 'husband' as she grows into womanhood. Therefore, this work, through a focus upon experiences of women, aims contributing to both policy and academic discourse on how existing gender differentiations and treatment of minority groups (Maasai pastoralist woman and their children) are an important consideration in conflict situations.

2.12 Challenges and Limitations of Ethnographic Fieldwork in Pastoral Areas

2.12.1 Limitations

A number of limitations were identified in the course of the work. *First*, and for a number of reasons the researcher encountered suspicion and secrecy. Security officials and officials at district and village offices as well as community members were sensitive, suspicious and reluctant to respond to questions. One reason for this was the proliferation of research already conducted in Kilosa (see Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003; Benjaminsen et al., 2009) and the perception that this has done little to assist the respondents. issue was election campaigns in 2010 across Tanzania; some respondents thought the researcher was in the election campaign for the ruling party. Sensitivity is also due to accusations of land grabbing from indigenous communities by some politicians and government officials. In view of this the researcher was forced to spend considerable time explaining the intentions of the work and building trust. Such sensitivity was also countered by using different qualitative techniques such as triangulation and flexibility of methods as well as long-term engagement in the field, as noted.

Second, Maasai communities are by nature a mobile (semi-nomadic) population, with unique socio-cultural values, tradition and practices, located in a marginalized area where infrastructural facilities are fragile, making access problematic. Such characteristics affected accessibility in many ways. *Third*, illiteracy and the language barrier were important limitations. Majority of Maasai pastoralists are illiterate and

fluently speak only their vernacular language, requiring the presence of an interpreter for the whole exercise (Misafi, 2014). Given the existing patriarchy system, the researcher had to secure permission from the elders in order to speak to the women. The same literacy and language issues then existed for communication with male elders, husbands and fathers and moreover, being mobile was frequently absent. Furthermore, women were often nervous and reluctant to be engaged in interviews and focus group discussions due to cultural barriers.

Not surprisingly, women were often not willing to take part in focus group discussions (FGDs) together with men, requiring some changes of plan. In some cases, women were seated separately, but still within earshot of men, they felt unable to speak freely. Some women, even without men around, were unable to speak at all.

Fourth, much of the area is remote and marginalized with unmade roads. Accessibility was a major challenge especially during the rainy season from December 2009 to January 2010 which swept away nearly 60 per cent of unmade and gravel roads and bridges (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010; Kilosa District Council, 2010; Daily Newspaper, 2010, Juma, 2010). Picture 1 shows the road that connects Ngaiti and Parakuyo sub-villages, submerged in floods. Picture 2 shows a car stuck in mud in the middle of the rangelands. On that day as the researcher was nearing Mabwegere village having travelled from Parakuyo, rain started and roads became impassable shortly before reaching the destination. Researcher and assistant were forced to spend the night in the car in a very dark forest.



Picture 1: Marginal road connecting Ngaiti and Parakuyo sub-villages

Fifth, drought resulting in migration of pastoralists in search for water and pastures necessitated locating and establishing the right seasons and times for the field visits in certain areas. Lastly, was the challenge of potential insecurity and risks due to conflicts; this required careful planning of study visits. In October 2010 upon arrival in Kilosa, the researcher was told “You should have come yesterday, there was a conflict in Ngaiti between us and the investor... his name is Mbokoso.” Upon further inquiry a warrior said, “This happens frequently”.



Picture 2: Researcher's car stranded in the middle of rangelands in Kilosa

1.12.2 Generalizability

Critics argue that the disadvantage of ethnographic, case oriented studies is its fact that they lack general applicability to the whole population. This argument stems from the fact that these studies are generally based on few cases. Critics may argue that in a study of one case [Kilosa district], findings may not apply to all districts in Tanzania where similar conflicts occur. As noted earlier, in an ethnographic qualitative study, the purpose is not to generalize, but rather to develop the fullest possible understanding of the existing case. This implies that, the evaluation of case study should be based on the

theoretical construct, rather than on the size of the sample, as conventional quantitative strategies suggests (Yin, 1994)

2.13 Conclusion

Examining land conflicts and how they affect the livelihood position of Maasai pastoralist women is one of the multifaceted issues to analyze. Maasai pastoralist societies have very strong and unique patriarchal structures, which mediate women access to and use of land on one hand, and on the other hand, which also determines women's roles and positions in the society. Such structures can best be explored by immersing into the culture of these people and "to engage the other and to learn their worlds, their ways of seeing, and their ways of doing, and being" (Grills 1998:16). Research strategies, best suited the research intentions and were felt to be the most likely to provide credible results, by examining the study area from a real world setting, not manipulating the phenomenon and thus attempting to unveil the truth.

Similarly, based on the nature of the study, a single data collection tool could not suffice to adequately provide detailed information about the subject. Therefore a wide range of data collection tools was required for the study. The selection of Kilosa district as a case and four Maasai pastoralist villages as a specific focus provided for a suitable strategy in obtaining detailed information about the livelihood experience of the Maasai pastoralist women in the context of land use conflicts in Kilosa.

In this chapter it has been indicated that some preliminary activities such as considering validity and reliability of the data, and ethical considerations were essential and were adhered to in the process of data collection and also in the analysis and reporting of the results. Finally, the methodological and access limits have been described. Nevertheless, as I noted earlier in the discussions it was possible to collect the intended data, which is considered to be credible and reliable. In the subsequent chapter the empirical findings are presented as outlined in chapter 1.

Chapter Three

Land Reforms and Pastoral Maasai

Women Livelihood

3.1 Introduction

In the process of socio-economic and political reforms undertaken by countries in Sub-Saharan Africa including Tanzania in recent decades, land has formed part of the reform agenda. Quan and Toulmin (2000: 33) summarize the range of land reform¹⁶ undertakings in sub-Saharan Africa: Land nationalization after independence; tenure reform through registration and titling; land redistribution and resettlement; agrarian collectivization; land development projects and protected areas; and reaffirmation and recognition of customary rights in land. Arguments in support of land reforms in these countries focused on its potential social and economic benefits that may emerge from greater land formalization, registration and titling (De Soto, 2000). Such benefits partly include greater land tenure security and market-driven land reform to permit equal distribution of land among vulnerable groups, including the landless, and women (Walker, 2002; Razavi, 2007). Formalization of land and titling was thus viewed as a magical pill to ensure and increase land redistribution, ability to access land, and credit facilities (De Soto, 2000), as well as women's equal access to own and use land (Jacobs, 2004; 2013; Ikdahl, Hellum, Kaarhus, and Benjaminsen, 2005; Vlassenroot and Huggins, 2005).

In Sub-Saharan Africa for example, recent land reforms have often aimed at opening the way to women's access to and control of land through market -driven land reform

¹⁶ Land reform denotes different meaning across land related literature in Africa (Warriner, 1969; Quan and Toulmin, 2000; Platteau, 2000; Batty, 2005; Lund, 2008). Existing differences in land types, farming methods and practices, land acquisition history, political aims, as well as general socio-economic conditions across countries in the globe partly contribute to the existing mix (Adam, 1995). Land reform can refer to transfer of land ownership from the more powerful to the less powerful, such as from a relatively small number of wealthy owners with extensive land holdings (such as plantations and plots, large ranches) to individual ownership by those who work the land... "Land to the tiller" (Borras, 2006). Adams (2000:pp 1-2) defines land reform to mean a generally accepted to mean the redistribution and/or confirmation of rights in land for the benefit of the poor.

(Andrew, 2007; Manji, 2009; Jacobs, 2013). In other words, these reforms are claimed to be fair in granting land rights including 'land titles' to all individuals irrespective of their gender differences (Bloom, 2006; Knight, 2010). Nevertheless, these reforms have on the other hand for decades been subjected to critical discourses that view land reforms as sources of numerous conflicts [Urmilla, 2010] and are largely gender-blind (Izumi, 1999; Moyo, 2007; Razavi, 2007; 2011; Flintan, 2011; Nelson, Sulle, and Lekaita, 2012; Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003; Chiwara and Karadenizli, 2008).

Recently conducted studies on land reforms related conflicts in Africa conclude that, land reforms often results in conflicts as some people feel that they are disadvantaged and do not benefit from the land reform processes. Correspondingly, Huggins et al (2005:1) state that, the actual or promised redistribution of land from weaker to stronger parties can fuel and prolong conflicts, as seen in Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Additionally, several conflicts arise when the land that is allocated is deemed to be either inappropriate or inadequate. There are several resettlement failures associated with land reform throughout the continent, which have resulted in conflicts and, as is the case in Zimbabwe, undermined national security (Kinsey 2004). Furthermore, market-led land Reform projects (the approach often adopted in African countries) usually result in the wealthier segments of society benefiting.

Similarly, two recently conducted studies on women and land in eastern and southern Africa conclude that, in overall, women's rights in land are insecure; a situation reflecting a serious land policy issue for the region (Walker, 2002). In rural traditional societies like pastoral societies, women are claimed to remain peripheral, or appear as an "add-on" category to reform processes and practices (Jacobs, 2013). There is also a consensus from the literature that formalization of land rights in the form of individual titling, or privatization of land, in sub Saharan Africa has disproportionately affected women and men (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 1997; Ik Dahl, Hellum, Kaarhus, and Benjaminsen, 2005). Experiences in pastoral settings also suggest that men benefit at the expense of women especially on issues of land titling (Platteau, 1999; 2000; Yngstrom, 2002). Contributing to this situation is the character of the traditional patriarchal customary

institutions such as those of the pastoralists which have a tendency to designate men as legal and default heads of households and control over household's assets including land (Braunstein and Folbre, 2001; Mkutu, 2008).

Another aspect that is important to consider is women's land rights and conflicts. Under most traditional systems land is not allocated to women but to men. Cross and Friedman (1997) assert that the gendered nature of land relations in some instances leads to inequalities and skewed distribution of land resources which affects women differently from men. Specifically, is when land policies reinforce pre-existing gender inequalities with respect to land access, they contribute to a downward spiral of land conflict (Urmilla, 2010). Equally, Urmilla notes that, the frustration of men inability to fulfill their customary expectations as 'land owners' as a result of land reforms contributes to male desertion of women.

Similarly, Oumer and Flintan argue that reforms have not been fair to all pastoralists in most of the sub-Saharan African countries irrespective of their gender (Oumer, 2007; Flintan, 2007; 2011). However, Knight (2010) is of the view that, Tanzania has a well-framed gender-sensitive land institutional framework of its kind in the entire sub-Saharan Africa. The policy and legal reforms of the 1990s were initiated as a way to respond to: (a) land conflicts founded in dispossessions arising from post-colonial and pre-colonial land policies and laws¹⁷ and, and (b) Change in national policies to facilitate economic liberalization. These intentions went hand in hand with the need to allow proper management and allocation of land in both urban and rural areas, with the pronounced intention to guarantee equal distribution of land among men and women in the country. However, to date, Tanzania is witnessing a large increase in the number of land conflict (Maganga et al., 2007; Benjaminsen et al., 2009).

¹⁷ Whilst the historical context is important there are a number of other sources which cover this aspect in detail and to which the reader is directed. They include Sundet (1997 & 2006), Lange (2008), Lugoe (2008)

There is vast literature documenting on land reforms and gender in Tanzania (Ishengoma, 2004; Gopal and Salim, 1998; Rwegasira, 2012; Manji, 1998; 2006; Maghimbi et al., 2011, URT, 1991; 1994). Nevertheless, the information concerning the gendered analysis of the land reforms related conflicts are hardly available. Pedersen and Haule (2013) maintains that, the fight for women's rights has not been won just because of persisting discriminatory practices persist at formal and customary institutions, disadvantaging women's access to land. Therefore there is a gap between the legal framework and what is actually happening on the ground.

The implementation process of land reforms along gender lines has led to doubts about guaranteeing equal access to land to minorities in pastoral societies precisely pastoral women. In other words, very little is known about women in pastoral societies and access to and use of land in the light of the existing land reforms and how they respond to land use changes. Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008), Tenga et al., (2008), Yanda et al (2010), and Knight (2013) confirm that, although the legal framework reads along gender lines by ensuring that women's rights to acquire land in their own right and the right to participate in decision making arenas, a gap exist between the legal framework and what is happening on the ground, primarily due to custom. Pedersen and Haule (2013) note that, women experience particular problems like access to and control over land, participation in decision-making processes, and loss of land related to inheritance and divorce. A situation may be complex to pastoralist women's access to and use of land, as they are traditionally treated as second-class citizens.¹⁸ As second-class citizen, pastoral Maasai women are likely not to benefit from the so called best existing gender-sensitive land institutional framework in the country. This is to say; men own nearly the entire livelihood assets including land and women, including key decision making positions such as in ward tribunals that govern land acquisition and distribution (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). Therefore pastoral women may not be able to benefit from new

¹⁸ See Emecheta (1974) on women as second-class citizens

legal rights operating under the 'market regulated' mechanism due to lack of negotiation power. Literature suggest that, on the one hand, markets provide wider opportunities for people to access land and promote women's independent rights to land [to access and use]. It equally guarantees gender equality in access to and use of land, because it provides fair and or equal grounds in competition for land. However, on the other hand, there is also literature, which argues that, customary practices are setbacks to gender equality as far as land access is concerned, at the same time constraints and discriminate against women's access to land. Platteau (1996) and Jacobs (2013) asserts that, presence of discriminatory patterns of customary practices and norms which gives preferences to men and describe women's rights as "secondary" to, and dependent on those of men contribute to their disadvantaged position. Kipuri and Ridgewell, (2008), Scalise (2012), and Mushi (2013) confirm that pastoral women are the most vulnerable people, as pastoral system does not leave them with much space for making decisions governing land. In the same vein, even when market forces provides for equal opportunities for woman to own and use land, customs and norms require women to have absolute respect over men's decisions, which are mostly biased (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003). Such traditions and practices exclude pastoral women from being heard or even seen in public (Devereux, 2010), consequently reduce the possibilities for women to benefit from accessing to land even under land market – regulated economy. Wangui (2008), Mkutu (2008), and Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe (2003), made it clear that, pastoral women find it difficult to keep control over the land and land resources through land reforms and even assert their claims over land under existing era of land reforms. In this regard, pastoral women are likely to find it difficult to benefit from the reforms in the absence of independent control over resources including land (Ishengoma, 2004). Furthermore, local institutions that mediate land access are being challenged for not being supportive to women's direct access to and control of land despite the new legal institutional framework that target women (Lastaria-Cornhiel, 2009). This is however contrary to literature which indicates general held view that land reform outcomes are beneficial to socially excluded groups including in minority indigenous tribes like pastoral Maasai women in this context (URT, 1995). In their support Isinika and Mutabazi (2010) firmly argue that, reforming

land laws can ensure gender equality as far as women's access to land is concerned. Scholars like Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) and Pedersen and Haule (2013) maintain that, for secure women's access to land the institutions and structures – political, economic, and social through which land access is mediated, at the same time disadvantaging women's access to land must also be reformed. Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) continue to proclaim that, persisting discriminatory practices and institutions that mediate pastoral Maasai women's access to and use of land, have eventually worked to their disadvantaged position of the women. In this regard, this work digs deeper within the Maasai pastoralist society of Kilosa district to know what is happening on the ground. I have done so by exploring how land reforms related conflicts have affected pastoral women's livelihoods

3.2 Land Reforms and Gender: Theoretical Arguments

Theoretical debates about land reforms and gender are contentious one in land resource related literature. Within these discussions two differentiated 'schools of thought' exist: the Individualized and the communal land tenure system arguments (Izumi, 1999; De Soto, 2000; Obeng-Odoom, 2011). In other words, these debates can best be classified as market – oriented versus indigenous /customary/ tradition oriented.

On the one hand, there are those who believe that individualized land tenure systems are more effective and desirable in promoting tenure security, efficient use of land (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Likewise, land individualization stimulates market-oriented land transactions, and provides the landless and multiple social groups with wider equal opportunities to participate in a more secured manner (De Soto, 2000; Thu et al., 2007; Sikor and Muller, 2009; Deininger et al., 2010; Pedersen and Haule, 2013). For example, formal individual titling is believed to be the best channels of gender equality in distribution of land access and control, particularly in determining women's fallback positions and options in crisis like divorce or widow – and indirectly, their bargaining power within marriage institutions (Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003; Agarwal, 2003).

Therefore it is assumed that, the process of individualization will provide women with equal opportunities in access to and control of land (Izumi, 1999; Griffiths, 2000).

Reflecting on the South African context, Walker argued that, even where women have been listed as independent household heads and as beneficiaries in their own right, their access to land has been mediated overwhelmingly through their membership in patriarchal households (Walker , 2002). Agarwal firmly argues that, if carefully done, land reforms promote women's effective and independent rights to land through inheritance state transfers and the market (Agarwal, 1994; 2003). Nevertheless, what often determines fallback positions and options of women in reality is not what the legal law states, but the customary law, or local interpretations of statutory law (Quisumburg, Payongayong, Aidoo, and Otsuka, 2003). On the other hand, while the call for land reforms through individualization is assumed to provide separate and independent rights in land for the landless including women, a body of literature exists which is critical of individualized approach.

Communal land tenure school of thought argues that, land reforms implemented under the individualized land tenure system are insensitive to gender relations and promotion of equality, particularly to rural sub-Saharan African women. Thus land policy reform should revert to traditional land tenure systems (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Advocates of the communal land rights believes that, traditional forms of tenure which are based on customs are the most effective way to ensure secure tenure and promote gender equality in accessing land and land resources (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). This implies that, women are viewed as part of the family, household and community and not discriminated against in relation to resources like land (Gray and Kevane, 1999; Amanor, 2001; Obeng- Odoom, 2012). Through male-oriented social networks (of brothers, husbands, and sons, nephews and brothers-in-law), women are able to access land and land resources and secure their property rights. Besides, social networks can provide that support which formal, individual institutions may not be able to deliver (Obeng- Odoom, 2012).

However, some scholars (Jacobs, 2002; Deere and Leon, 2003) view communal land tenure system operating under the customary law as insecure and placing constraints on women, due to its highly discriminatory nature against women particularly in patrilineal societies. In patrilineal societies of Africa such as the pastoral societies for instance, in spite of women's contribution to pastoral life, they have only limited access to, and control over, key productive resources such as land (Wangui, 2008; Odour, 2011; Eneyew and Mengitsu, 2013). Similarly, studies suggest that women have continued to become vulnerable even when reforms have been undertaken to ensure equal relocation of land to individuals (Scalise, 2011). Literature points out that, land individualization process have intensified women's insecurity to access land by allowing traditional values to co-exist with statutory laws and policies (Eneyew and Mengistu, 2013; Bruce and Migot-Adholla, 1994; Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Pastoralist women for instance suffer from accessing land on two fronts. On one hand, reforms have statutorily accorded them with bunch of legal rights to own land, while on the other hand; they are required to uphold traditional values which mostly biased women from accessing and benefiting from their rights, hence affecting their livelihood (Talle, 1987; Dahl, 1987; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Young and Sing'Oei, 2011; Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003).

Nevertheless, arguments by communitarians still insist that, insecure land tenure emanates from: state-led policies that ignore traditional values; and individualised property rights, which marginalise rather than empower people (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Existing social networks can substitute for well-defined property rights among resource users over time (Katz, 2000:p.115).

Bina Agarwal argues that, individualization of land will promote women's effective and independent land rights (Agarwal, 1994; 2003). Agarwal continue to stress that, land individualization offers advantages to individual women or women working in groups to lease or purchase land using available government credits for land, and collectively managing purchase or lease in land. The collectivity being constituted with other women rather than family members such group functioning is shown to have several advantages over individual women. For example, literature indicates formal individual

titling is believed to best channels gender equality in distribution of land access and control, particularly women's inclusion in land ownership thus enhancing their fallbacks position (Griffiths, 2000; Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003; Agarwal, 2003). Therefore advocates of this paradigm assume that, women and men have or enjoy similar opportunities when it comes to access to and control of land under individual titling (Griffiths, 2000).

However, I argue that, under the market regulation land system, women are likely to enter into "market regulated" mechanism of land access, and without negotiation power, hence likely to become losers in the whole process of acquisition and use of land. In other words, markets have a tendency of embodying gender hierarchies as they are found in societies, which are structured along political and social constructs infused with social norms and regulations which eventually exclude women (Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003; Razavi, 2007). As El-Ghonemy (2001) and Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) indicate, institutional changes combined with commercialization of agriculture increase the uncertainty of women's individual access to land and often threaten household food security. Moreover, Deere and Leon (2003) observed in Latin America that, rarely land markets favoured the rural poor neither are they gender neutral.

This raises a fundamental question about whether market prescriptions are likely to accommodate pastoral Maasai women's land claims.¹⁹ I therefore argue that reforming statutory land laws and institutions governing land alone, is not enough to guarantee tenure security among women.

3.3 Land Reforms Process and Women in Tanzania: A Situational Analysis

Land policy reform process and the current land tenure challenges in Tanzania have a historical origin dating back at least to the 19th century. In this section I present land

¹⁹ In Maasai values, all properties within their homestead [e.g. the cattle, children, the land and land related resources, and the wife/wives] are properties of men [Hodgson, 2001; Walsh et al., 2003]. In other words, a woman is not supposed to own any property including her.

reform process in Tanzania from gender perspective. Land tenure in Tanzania has undergone numerous significant reforms across time as a result of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial land policies and changes. In the pre-colonial societies, of Tanganyika (Tanzania mainland), land ownership was based on customary laws, traditions and practices of different tribes²⁰ (Rwegasira, 2012). In that way, title to land centered on the customs and traditions of the respective tribe. Among the pastoral Maasai for instance, ownership of land was predominantly communal, and chiefs, headmen and elders had the powers of land administration in trust for the community. These powers persisted through the colonial era although; the newly introduced German and later British land tenure systems limited them, as subsequent sections shall explain.

For the most part, farming and livestock keeping were the main economic activities practiced on the land, and ownership of land was communal –‘clan property’, under the customary tenure governed by clan and tribal traditions (Gopal and Salim, 1998; Koda, 2000). The powers to allocate and reallocate community land were vested into the respective chiefs, heads of the tribe or clan. Men, as household heads had powers to allocate land to their male children upon marriage, as a means to sustain livelihood (Gopal and Salim, 1998). Nevertheless, land allocation was discriminatory to women, for it did not allow women to be given land so as to own it, in fear of land being transferred to another clan upon marriage. Women were discriminated because they were considered as ‘foreigners’²¹ and dependents of their husbands, parents and other male relatives (Koda, 2000). Likewise, the exclusion of daughters and wives from rights to family or lineage land may be part of the conviction that women are incapable of possessing primary properties like land. Hence, not giving women a direct access to

²⁰ Tanzania has 120 ethnic groups.

²¹ A ‘foreigner’ is a male person from other clan, ethnic group or tribe who is sought to marry a woman from the other clan (Koda, 2000). In this system women were regarded as foreigners (because upon their marriage they will unite with their husband who is not coming from the clan lineage). Based on this reasoning, it was believed that if women were given land they could easily share it with the foreigner they married.

resources was viewed as the best way to ensure high protection of land within the male members of the clan.

The 1880s marked the beginning of the first land reform in Tanganyika (Tanzania mainland) introduced through colonization process. These changes began when the German colonial administration (1885 – 1914) issued an Imperial Decree²² in November 26, 1895 declaring all land to be Crown Land vested in the German Empire, except the land already in private ownership or possessed by indigenous communities.²³ By early 1920s, land relations continued to change when Tanganyika became a Trust Territory under the British colonial administration (1920 to 1961)²⁴. Consequently, in 1923, the British regime passed the Land Ordinance of 1923²⁵, the law which declared all land in Tanzania (then Tanganyika) whether occupied or unoccupied, public land under the control of the Governor (Shivji, 1998; 2001; Rwegasira, 2012). No occupation of any land was therefore valid without the consent of the Governor, who had powers to grant the Right of Occupancy (the granted right of occupancy) defined as a title to the use and occupation of land (Larsson, 2006).

While the colonial administrations and its land laws²⁶ established and encouraged possession of individualized freehold titles as a good replacement for customary land

²² Imperial Decree Regarding Creation, Acquisition and Conveyance of Crown Land and regarding the Acquisition and Conveyance of Lands in General in German East Africa, 26th November, 1895

²³ URT, 1994; Olenasha, 2005; Gastom, 2008; Batungi, Nasani (2008) “land tenure reform in East Africa: Some reflections on the formalization of customary tenure. Fountain Publishers”(pg. 40).

²⁴ In the context of land, the British colonial administration recognized all existing Germans land titles and also made a small number of freehold grants. For details see <http://www.tanzania.go.tz>

²⁵ This is Act No.3 of 1923, Chapter 113 of the Laws, an Ordinance that was later repealed by Section 183 of the Land Act, 1999 [Cap. 113 R.E. 2002].

²⁶ Germans: Imperial Decree of November 26, 1895 and the 1896 land circular. British: The Land Ordinance cap 113, 1923 and the Land Ordinance (amendment Act No. 7), 1928.

based rights, women were more affected in comparison to their male counterparts due to their secondary position in land ownership that emanates from customary laws. By way of women losing secondary access and control of land, they became more economically dependent on their men, thus the intensification of household patriarchy, reinforced by the colonial social institutions (Mbilinyi, 2003).

Soon after independence in 1961, land reforms were again introduced to conform to the politics of the day, but were largely cosmetic for Tanzania inherited almost the entire colonial land tenure system. Land continued to be a 'public' property, although the ultimate ownership was changed from the governor to the President as custodian of land on behalf of all the citizens (Sijaona, 2001; Shivji, 2001; Kapinga, 1998; 2001; Rwegasira, 2012). Vesting powers on the Presidency as sole owner of the 'radical title' has had far reaching consequences to small producers and communal owners, including loss of their lands through alienation, acquisition, eviction and nationalization without due compensations for public interests. These partly contributed to diminishing customary land tenure in favor of the granted right of occupancy (Seidman 1972; Rwegasira, 2012). This has had severe consequences on women, whose rights had already started to diminish under the colonial system of land administration.

With time, more laws and policies were created under the socialist policy realm. These laws include the Arusha Declaration (1967), the Village and Ujamaa Village Act of 1975, the Land For instance, in 1967; significant changes in land tenure regime emerged following the introduction and adoption of the Arusha Declaration (1967). Much as the Arusha Declaration emphasized equality, large scale ranching and agriculture and collective production, it did not take on board pastoralists land use systems let alone women's land right. Most land remained, and is still, in the men's hands as many of the initiatives did not concern directly on women and their differential positions across different societies (Gopal and Salim, 1998; Whitehead and Tsikata 2003; Spichiger, 2013).

In 1972, Tanzania launched a villagization programme, implemented under the coded name of 'Operation Vijiji'.²⁷ Supported by the Village and Ujamaa Village Act [1975], 'operation Vijiji' programme aimed at modernization of subsistence agriculture and improvement of socio-economic services and opportunities through a resettlement programme of the rural population including the Maasai pastoralist communities (Ndagala, 1982, Benjaminsen et al., 2009; McCabe et al., 2011). The programme had a negative consequence on people's livelihood systems especially for those who were moved to semi-arid and less arable lands, conflicting claims of land ownership, double allocation of land and title, as well as population settling in another land without proper compensation (Ngware et al, 1997). Within pastoral communities, 'Operation Vijiji' programme was coded "Operation Imparnati"²⁸. As with other local communities, this programme required pastoralists to stop nomadic life and settle in one-area and share resources, an incompatible policy decision to the pastoralists' mobile communal system (Benjaminsen et al., 2009). In the course of implementation of Operation Imparnati, pastoral Maasai enkangs (homesteads) and bomas²⁹ were destroyed and some were set ablaze, livestock confiscated, and populations were forced to move into designated settlements 'livestock villages' (Ndagala, 1982; Hodgson, 2001; Mwamfupe and Mung'ong'o, 2003; Sivini, 2007; Ngailo, 2011).

²⁷ In accordance to the VLA (1999:s.2) "Operation Vijiji" means and includes the settlement and resettlement of people in villages commenced or carried out during and at any time between the first day of January, 1970 and thirty first day of December, 1977 for or in connection with the purpose of implementing the policy of villagization and includes the resettlement of people within the same village, from one part of the village land to another part of that village land or from one part of land claimed by any such person as land which he held by virtue of customary law to another part of the same land, and the expropriation of it in connection with Operation *Vijiji* so defined.

²⁸ Imparnati means permanent habitations in Maa language

²⁹ A boma is an agglomeration of traditional households 'houses' which are in essence small huts made from mud, cow dung, sticks and grasses

Notably, the legal consequences concerning secure land tenure were not considered (URT, 1994; Shivji, 1994; Boesen et al., 1999; Gaston, 2008). This policy had severe consequences on women for they were forced to build new bomas, consequently increasing burden to women, as they are traditionally responsible for managing families as well as constructing bomas (Flintan, 2008, Benjaminsen et al.; 2009; Ngailo, 2011). Generally the government regarded Operation Vijiji programme well achieved and good as the majority of Tanzanians lived in villages. However, rules that governed land relations under customary land tenure and under villagization programme did not deliver security of tenure to women (Kikula, 1997; Pedersen and Haule, 2013).

By 1990s, a new wave of land reforms had emerged in Tanzania, which was informed by the economic liberalization policies and processes of the 1980s. During the 1990s Tanzania started to experience the growth of land markets, and factors such as internal contradictions, land scarcity, land conflicts, double allocations of land, evictions, and corruption fast-tracked this transformation (Havnevik et al., 1999; Lugoe, 2008; Lange, 2008; Olenasha, 2011; Makwarimba and Ngowi, 2011). As consequence, in January 1991, the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters popularly known as the “Shivji Commission” was appointed to review existing land laws and policies, investigate people’s complaints and grievances over land and to recommend new land policy and tenure system ((Manji, 2006); URT, 1991; Manji, 1998; 2006; Maghimbi et al., 2011). The Commission revealed that, the then existing land tenure system was slow, bureaucratic, cumbersome and gender insensitive (URT, 1994), and amongst the Commission’s recommendation was that the radical title to land to be removed from the President. The commission also recommended the establishment of two categories of land, public and village land by different institutions (URT, 1994; Havnevik et al., 1999; Makwarimba and Ngowi, 2011). In response to the recommendations by the Shivji land commission, several laws and policies were thereafter enacted in relation to land

administration³⁰. In 1995, the National Land Policy (NLP) was issued and later amended in 1997 and clearly stipulated that land has a market value³¹. The policy was later followed by the enactment of various laws governing land use in Tanzania mainland particularly the Investment Act, No. 26 of 1997, the Land Act³² and Village Land Act³³. Although impliedly the government advocated for equal distribution and productive use of land between men and women, in practice the real intention of the Government seemed to facilitate a free-market in land and to make land accessible to foreign investment and interests” (Shivji, 2001; Chachage, 2001; Olenasha, 2004:1; Olenasha, 2011).

Both, the policy and the Land Acts clearly stipulate that all land in Tanzania is public, vested in the President as trustee on behalf of the Tanzanians, and are regulated on his behalf by the Commissioner for Lands (NLP, 1995; LA, 1999; VLA, 1999). However, the Land Acts, which came into force in May 2001 both, contains provisions that empower village authorities and minister responsible for land to make land available to private sectors/investors on leasehold basis with a secure title (Section 4 and its subsequent sections, VLA, 1999] on behalf of the President. In addition, the Tanzania Investment Act No. 26 of 1997 provides for private investments on land. In this regard, there is dual land tenure system in Tanzania whereas on the one hand, land in Tanzania is public property [meaning that the President who is the custodian of all lands in Tanzania on behalf of Tanzanians can transfer land from one category to another, at the same time

³⁰ As noted in section 3, these laws include: the Investment Act no. 26 of 1997; Land Act No. 4, 1999 Cap 113; the Village Land Act No. 5, 1999 Cap 114; Land Use Planning Act No 6 (2007); and the Grazing and Land Animal Feed Resources Act No 13 (2010).

³¹ The Policy instituted the ground for the repeal of the Land Ordinance of 1923 and the enactment of two pieces of land legislation, the Land Act No. 4 of 1999 and the Village Land Act No.5 of 1999.

³² [Cap 113 R.E 2002]

³³ [Cap 114 R.E 2002]

repossess leased land]. On the other hand, land in Tanzania is “private” because statutorily, it can be leased and sold to private actors.

From the Land Act, public land is divided into three categories: General land, village land, and reserved land³⁴. General land refers to all public land, which is not reserved land or village land and includes unoccupied or unused village land.³⁵ Existing literature indicates that, the distinction between general land and village land is controversial and vaguely defined by the law (LEAT, 2011; Ngowi and Makwarimba, 2013). As consequence, due the absence of proper land use plans and boundaries between general land and village land, they have often been sources of conflicts and absence of compensation to the occupant when the government decides to evict the existing occupant on the claim of being an invader (Rwegasira, 2012). As consequence, women end up being the hardest hit for their shoulder most of the burden of eviction including care for the children and rebuilding of houses (Ngailo, 2011).

Reserved Land means all land designated or set aside as reserved under the provisions of any law, or land parcels within a natural drainage system from which water flows, or land reserved for public utilities; and land declared hazardous by the minister; and Village Land means that which falls under the jurisdiction and management of registered villages as declared under and in accordance to section 7 of the Village Land Act of 1999. Despite the clear existing categorization of land, the President can transfer land from one category to another, for he is governed by the two land laws³⁶. For instance, village land may be transferred to general land in accordance with the provisions of the Village Land Act. Likewise, the Land acquisition Act of Tanzania grants the President with powers to acquire land in any part of the Republic of Tanzania for

³⁴ Section 4(4) Land Act 1999 [Cap 113 R.E 2002]

³⁵ Section 2 Land Act 1999 [Cap 113 R.E 2002]

³⁶ Section 4 of the Land Acts [Cap 113 and Cap 114 R.E 2002] grants President with powers to transfer land any area of village land to general or reserved land for public interests.

the so-called public interest³⁷. This exclusivity of powers implies that, one person (the President) or any politically linked person can decide to take land from anybody for 'public interests' including tourism, agricultural investments, or any other activity deemed as fit.

Village land provides livelihood for nearly 80 percent of the Tanzanian population (Population Census URT, 2013). However, for public interests, investments including foreign investment projects have very often involved some transfer of village land to general land. Approximately, 70% of the Tanzanian's land is Village Land, 28% as Reserved Land but only 2% as General Land (Kironde, 2009). Despite the government awareness that 75 to 80 per cent of Tanzanians still depend on land as a major source of employment and livelihoods, rampant sales of huge blocks of land persist, with dire effects on rural women and their communities (Mbilinyi and Sechambo, 2009).

Whereas the Land Act deals with the management of land; and settlement of dispute and related matters for general and reserved land, the Village Land Act on the other hand, provides for the management and administration of Village land which is basically in rural areas. Both laws provide for the manner within which land can be acquired or occupied in Tanzania.

There are two main ways in which land can be occupied or acquired in Tanzania. First, through land allocation by the state, this category of right is called granted right of occupancy; and Second, the customary land ownership. Land which is or may be held for a customary right of occupancy is any village land, any general land occupied by persons who immediately before the coming into operation of the Act held the land under a deemed right of occupancy.³⁸ The attributes of a customary right of occupancy

³⁷ Public interest also includes investment interests. For more details see Makwarimba and Ngowi (2013)

³⁸ Section 14(1), Village Land Act, 1999 [Cap 114 R.E 2002] defines deemed right as the title of a Tanzanian citizen of African descent or a community of Tanzanian citizens of African descent using or occupying land under and in accordance with customary laws.

have been specified in the Village Land Act.³⁹ The customary right is the right that is equal in status in every respect and effect to a granted right of occupancy. The right can be exercised on village land, general land or reserved land and is regulated by customary laws⁴⁰. All rights is related to land specified in section 6 of the Forests Act which are lawfully exercisable in any area regarded as a forest reserve are rights originating in a customary right of occupancy.⁴¹

More than most, the 1990s land reform has attempted to strike a gender balance in land acquisition by recognizing the right of women⁴². These reforms have attempted to secure the right of access to land for women and other vulnerable groups, where the new legislative frameworks uphold gender equality by explicitly declaring that men and women are equal and deserve equal treatments to resources and participation in land related decision making bodies (URT, 1977; URT, 1999a, 1999b).

Such bunch of rights for women include protection against discriminatory customs and traditions and right to acquire land in marital home including after divorce⁴³; women are also accorded equal treatment in the application of customary right of occupancy in the adjudication bodies (Village land council and the Land adjudication committee)⁴⁴. Furthermore, women have the right to participate in the land related decision making

³⁹ Means a right of occupancy created by means of issuing of a certificate of a customary right of occupancy specified in section 27 of this Act and includes a deemed right of occupancy specified in section 2 of Cap. 114 [Cap. 114 R.E 2002]

⁴⁰ Section 18 and section 20(1) Village Land Act, 1999 [Cap. 114 R.E 2002]

⁴¹ Section 14 Village Land Act, 1999 [Cap 114 R.E 2002]

⁴² Section 3(2) Land Act, 1999 [Cap 113 R.E 2002] and Village Land Act, 1999 [Cap 114 R.E 2002]

⁴³ Section 20 (2) and Section 22 (1) Village Land Act, 1999 [Cap 114 R.E 2002]

⁴⁴ Section 23 (2) and Section 57 (3) Village Land Act, 1999 [Cap 114 R.E 2002]

bodies,⁴⁵ where the law requires them to form one third of the total members.⁴⁶ However, Spichiger et al. (2013) is of the view that, the implementation of these legislative frameworks often does not follow suit, and women still face discrimination, in part due to social and cultural barriers and the inaccessibility of institutions able to support them. Nevertheless, recent literature acknowledges the influence of growing pressure on land as exacerbated by population growth, titling and formalization processes, is leading to melting customary practices, and pushing land into the hands of men (Odgaard, 1997; 1999, 2006; Omari and Shaidi, 1992; Lusugga and Hidayat, 1996; Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003).

Anyhow I argue that, in pastoral settings, women's land issues are still contentious as the women are on the one hand said to equally benefit from the land reforms, access and control land like men. On the other hand, pastoral women claimed to be negatively affected by the reforms as land in pastoral society is governed customarily, and thus is not in favor of women. All in all, I argue that the analysis of land reforms and gender in Tanzania is still controversial and needs to be thoroughly looked into as the country practice pluralistic legal system in which both individual property rights and communal property or customary rights co-exist and all the same give more advantage to men in the process of land acquisitions. Under customary land tenure, the predominant tenure system in Tanzania, there is discrimination against women, and the Land policy recognizes the existing problems relating to land (URT, 1995, section 4.2.5). In the traditional set up of pastoral societies like Maasai for instance, there is a patriarchal system in which women are regarded as 'property' rather than 'persons' (Hodgson, 1999a, 1999b; 2001; Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2008; Misafi, 2014).

⁴⁵Apart from the village assembly where every adult village member attends, women have special rights to participate in village council, dissolution of land disputes (land tribunals), adjudication committee and the village land committees.

⁴⁶ Sections 60 and 53 (2) of the Village Land Act, 1999 [Cap 114 R.E 2002]; Land Disputes (Courts) Act, 2002

Since property cannot own property, women tend to be discriminated against land access, though specific provisions such as Section 20 (2) of the Land Acts of 1999 protects the right of women in Tanzania in general. Nevertheless, the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania explicitly states that every person is entitled to own property including land [URT, 1977: section 24(1)]. The article further states that any deprivation of a person's property is unlawful unless declared by law. Likewise, the constitution also guarantees that no citizen shall have a right, status or special position on basis of lineage, tradition or descent [URT, 1977: Section 29(3)]. With the 1990s land reforms, the legislations adequately grants bunch of women rights to access, own and control land in similar weight with men [Section 3 (2) of both LA and VLA, 1999], including the right to participate in decision making organs regarding land matters [Section 60 of the VLA, 1999].

In the same vein, Part xiii of the Land Act (1999) allows women to own or occupy land jointly or in common with other persons. Under joint occupancy, the land law protects women as it provides that where the land as whole is occupied jointly under a right of occupancy, no occupier is entitled to any separate share in land, not even a transfer to an outsider unless there is consent between the two occupiers [URT, 1977: Section 159: subsection 1 and 8]. Overall, in spite of all the change and trials to accommodate everybody, women still seem to undergo unacceptable situations, which do not permit them a clear title in land ownership in practice. In the same way, for many other household properties and family decision-making, they still depend on men's leadership as the first owners of land, family and other properties.

3.3.1 Privatization of Land: A General Overview

As noted early in this section, the move towards individualized land tenure in on pastoral livelihoods is increasingly a dynamic happening in the East African region (Fratkin, 2014). Development policies 'modernization' en route for pastoralism has for decades conventionally upheld a worldview narrative shared by many national governments in the region that pastoralists are irrational, wasteful of land and short-sighted (Fratkin and Mearns, 2003). This narrative which is owed in no small part to

Hardin's (1968) 'tragedy of the commons' narrative, has become a metaphor of many land tenure programmes in the region - that pastoralism degrades and waste land, and land privatization will lead to greater security, greater investment in land, and the use of land for collateral (Fratkin and Mearns, 2003; Flintan, 2011).

In Tanzania privatization of land is done in two scenarios. The *first* scenario is when the President or the minister responsible for land on behalf of the President can transfer any area of village land to general or reserved land for public interests as provided in Section 4 (1) of the Land Act No. 5, 1999. This is done by publication of a notice in the Government Gazette. The notice thereafter is sent to the village council of the proposed transfer and details about the area to be transferred, reasons for transfer, extent and boundaries as well as the date when the President may exercise his power to transfer the land in question. Any villagers or group of villagers using or have the right to use the proposed land shall be informed of the proposed transfer at least 90 days before the publication. The *second* scenario of privatization of land is done by village authorities where the land to be privatized belongs. Under this scenario, an investor or a company interested in acquiring land submits application to the village council of the proposed land to be privatized. The application will detail about the intended use and size of the proposed land. Upon receipt of the application, the village council⁴⁷ shall discuss the application and submit recommendations to the village assembly⁴⁸. The village assembly shall consider recommendations of the village council and decides whether to approve or disapprove the proposed application. The approved application is thereafter submitted to the ward development committees (WDCs) for modification and

⁴⁷ Village council is a corporate body consisting of 25 members elected to it by the village assembly [see Local Government [District Authorities] Act No. 7,1982 [Revised Edition, 2002].

⁴⁸ Village assembly is the highest decision making body consisting of all adult members [eighteen years and above] residing in that particular village [see Local Government [District Authorities] Act No. 7,1982 [Revised Edition, 2002].

endorsement before being submitted to the District Council for endorsement and formalization of ownership. After the endorsement and formalization by the district council, an individual investor or a company can start investing on the privatized land. This procedure is however limited to the application of less than 250 hectares of land.

Where the application is greater than 250 hectares, the approval is granted by the President or minister responsible for lands on behalf of the president after considering any recommendations made by the village assembly through the WDCs and District Council, the minister may grant approval or refuse to approve the proposed transfer. In any case whether the approval is granted by the minister or the village assembly an agreement for compensation must be made between the affected persons/groups and the investor in respect of loss of their land and assets (whether owned statutorily or customarily). The compensation matters to be agreed upon include the type of, amount, method and timing of payment of compensation. Kironde (2009) notes that while compensations to the affected persons/groups in respect to the privatized land is mandatory in Tanzania, there has been always dissatisfaction on the side of the affected persons/group regarding with compensation packages, limited transparency on the whole process of transfer and compensation as well as investor's failure to pay compensation in time. Kironde continues to assert that it is also very difficult of affected parties to lodge complaints and have them adequately addressed through the court system. Where the process of privatization involves resettlements, usually is not properly done leading to negative impact on livelihoods families especially women and children. In the subsequent section, I present empirical data on land reforms related conflicts and pastoral women livelihood in Kilosa.

3.3.2 Land Reforms and Pastoral Maasai Women, Kilosa Case study

Given the existing nature of legal system concerning land rights in Tanzania, and customary practices in pastoral societies as discussed above, in this section I present and discuss empirical data from Kilosa case study in relation to land reforms. As was explained early in the literature, land privatization, extensive commercialization of the agricultural sector, land grabbing and land reforms is now a major issue affecting

pastoral societies in the entire East African region (Reisman et al., 2013; Fratkin, 2014). This section examines the dynamic of these issues in terms of Kilosa pastoral Maasai women in Tanzania. I argue that, while land reforms have been implemented in Tanzania and gave equal right of access to and use of land to women and men, women particularly pastoral women are not considered. The women have entered into the 'markets' without enough economic muscles to negotiate and acquire or use land. Persisting discriminatory practices, structures and institutions mediate women's access to and use of land work to their disadvantage position. Hence they have become losers in the whole process of land reform.

As noted early in this chapter, a hybrid land tenure system exists in Tanzania, where customary land tenure is integrated into statutory land law. This integration allows co-existence of both customary and statutory land tenure systems, whereby Village lands⁴⁹ provides for two types of tenure: granted rights of occupancy [under the statutory law] and customary rights of occupancy [customary laws of each tribe]. Statutorily, women regardless of their ethnic background are in similar weight with men guaranteed equal right to access, own, inherit, control and dispose of land⁵⁰. Moreover, women are also legally protected against discriminatory customs and traditions that restrict their lawful access to ownership, occupation and use of land⁵¹.

⁴⁹ Village Lands are governed by the Village Land Act of 1999 [Cap 114 R.E 2002]

⁵⁰ The laws in Tanzania offers bunch of rights in relation to property ownership for both men and women. These includes: The constitution of the united republic of Tanzania (1977): For instance, section 24(1), is explicit that every person is entitled to own property, and that any deprivation of a person's property is unlawful unless declared by law, which makes provision for fair and adequate compensation. Likewise, section 29(3) ensures that no citizen (women are also citizens) shall have a right, status or special position on basis of lineage, tradition or descent. Similarly, the 1999 land laws also guarantees these rights. For instance, section 3(2) of both Land Act and Village Land Act of 1999 explicitly states that, the right of every woman to acquire, hold, use and deal with land shall, to the same extent and subject to the same restrictions be treated as a right of any man.

⁵¹ Section 20(2) of the Village Land Act of 1999 [Cap 114 R.E 2002]

Specifically, the law actually accords equal treatment of women in their application for recognition of customary right of occupancy of village land by both the village council and the adjudication committee.⁵² In the same vein, the same law also grants women, the right to acquire land upon divorce.⁵³ The customary land tenure is uploaded and codified by devolving decision-making powers to the local institutions and women participation in these bodies (at village and ward level) is mandatory.⁵⁴ These blanket rights also cover pastoral Maasai women in Kilosa district of Tanzania. However, bringing the customary tenure into the state laws without first reforming the informal land holding first is a fault in reforms and a double blow to pastoral women. Age-old patriarchal traditions do not support these rights, but rather perpetuates discrimination against women by inhibiting them from owning land.

While conducting fieldwork in Kilosa, It was discovered that the pastoral Maasai in Kilosa belongs to the Ilparakuyo sections of the Maasai. Besides, the Ilparakuyo regard themselves as 'Maasai', and indeed they have a social organisation that is very similar to their Maasai neighbours of Kisonko (Mitzlaff, 1988:pp40-70). Moreover, during observations and interviews it was noted that land tenure among the Ilparakuyo pastoral Maasai of Kilosa is largely customary and communal under the custody of the family heads and elders who are men.⁵⁵ In the same way, land distribution is carried out along family and clan lines. Unlike men, women's right to use and access different assets such as land for grazing, fetch firewood, water, build a house are purely relational rights. They are based on their social relations with men and their status as mothers, wives, sisters and daughters in relation to men. This implies that these women are not

⁵² Section 23(2)(c) and section 57(3) of the Village Land Act of 1999[Cap 114 R.E 2002]

⁵³ Section 22(1) of the Village Land Act of 1999 [Cap 114 R.E 2002]

⁵⁴ Section 60 of the Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999 [Cap 114 R.E 2002]

⁵⁵ Focus group discussions, Interviews and literature (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Eyenew and Mengistu, 2013)

supposed to own land let alone to inherit land. Before marriage, girls secure the rights of land use through their fathers: to use land for fetching water, firewood, cultivation, and even collect fruits. However, once she is married, a newly wedded woman is allocated land and cattle to enable her to feed herself and her children. This implies that, same rules apply; she will use a piece of land from her husband's clan. But her children particularly her sons will inherit land, and not her. By contrast, as previously noted, legal rights afforded by the state allow for land titling in women's' names, but this generally does not improve the lot of Maasai women who do not know or cannot access these benefits. Lack of knowledge or access about the existing legal frameworks and insufficient understanding of options for legal redress, as well as customary practices largely contribute this.

Women also echoed related views during group discussions held in Ngaiti and Mabwegere villages. During the discussions, the women confirmed that as women, they did not have any share of land from their husband's clan. They are just there to use the land. Upon loss of a husband, the close relative of her deceased husband, and usually a brother to the deceased inherits the land, livestock as well as the woman. This implies that under the communal system of land ownership [customary system], women's access to land is only guaranteed under the umbrella of men.

The different processes of land reforms that have been taking place in Tanzania as noted earlier in this chapter have also occurred in Kilosa. These reforms have opened up pastoral Maasai traditionally used lands 'rangelands' to multitude of forces, for they have encouraged land privatization and pastoralist alienations; increase in large – scale commercial farming; and livelihood shifts, consequently changing their land use patterns at the same time impacting on livelihood positions of Maasai pastoralist women as elaborated in the following sections.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Personal observations confirmed by other sources [Interviews and FGDs] hereafter in this section

3.3.3 Land Privatization and Dispossession in Kilosa

Pastoral areas of Tanzania, including Kilosa have not been immune to the influence of land privatization and dispossession. That is to say, Garrett Hardin's thesis also provided a rationalization for land reforms between 1960s and to date that called for sweeping privatization and appropriation of lands, including pastoral lands of Kilosa case study. Liberalization of the economy, emphasis on markets in land, and privatization has increasingly opened the Kilosa rangelands for individual and state acquisition and consequent alienation of pastoralists from their land. Mainly investors, both local and foreign do this. Foreign investors in the area include companies mainly from China and South Africa. Local investors include individual pastoralists [Maasai, Sukuma and Gogos] and farmers mostly men. In any case, dispossession of land as a result of privatization leads to negative consequences on community livelihoods. These consequences include loss of significant portions of farmlands as well as grazing lands which have the potential of sustaining them, including food security. For example, the privatization of Mkata ranch, which took place in 2004, affected the pastoral communities for it led into loss of land, restricted mobility and deterioration of the cattle economy. Mkata ranch is among several ranches under the National Ranching Company (NARCO) established as a fully-fledged government owned ranch within 62,530 hectares of land in 1970s. During that time, Maasai pastoralists although affected in terms of land size reduction for grazing activities, co-existed with the ranch⁵⁷. However, in 2004, pastoralists in Ngaiti began to experience a further challenge, when nearly 43,084 hectares of land from the ranch were subleased to investors, leaving only 19,446 hectares as ranch land. Pastoralists with the support from the district council tried to retain the land, noting that they have been living in the area for many years and therefore claim Right of Occupancy as outlined in a letter from the District Executive Director, Kilosa District Council to the Commissioner for Lands:

⁵⁷ FGD with the elders in Ngaiti sub-village, October, 2010

Maasai pastoralists have been settling in Ngaiti/Luhoza sub-village since 1950s. The sub-village has a land use plan which was prepared by the Ministry of Livestock in 1974 when the pastoralists were already present in the area and they are still there to date...the council recommends that “plots 421-423 in Ngaiti/Luhoza in Tindiga village should remain under pastoralists of that hamlet as shown by the Survey Plan No. E”365/1. Pastoralists will be given instructions and training on modern livestock husbandry in accordance with the arrangements that will be put in place by the government.⁵⁸

Pastoral Maasai of Ngaiti – Luhoza even tried to retain their land as investors, but given the detailed required process they had to go through, including preparation of a business plan as ordered by the Commissioner for Lands, they were unable to meet these demands. Consequently, some blocks were sub-leased to investors- NAM ranch and individuals like Mahenda Rubinda, Mbokoso, Lupasyo, and several others. Livelihood continued to be under pressure when on the 19th November 2008, nearly 1,739 Maasai pastoralists, the majority being women and children constituting more than 50% of the population were ordered to vacate the land and to make way for a large scale commercial wheat plantation in the area⁵⁹. However, pastoralists have resisted the order and went a step further as one of the elders confirms:

We’ve lived here in Ngaiti for too long, and we wonder why they tell us to leave, and without an alternative land not even compensation. We have refused to vacate from the remaining part of the land, as consequence, together with my community members, we have filed a lawsuit against NARCO⁶⁰. Among other

⁵⁸ A letter from the District Executive Director of Kilosa District Council to the Commissioner for Lands, with Ref. No. KDC/L.10/3, dated 23 October 2003, the Maasai pastoralists in Ngaiti have been given orders to move out of the land. The researcher was privileged to attend a meeting in which they were contemplating what to do, and to gain access to the surveys noted.

⁵⁹ Brief Report on the Eviction of Pastoralists from Kilosa District, Feb 2009, by PINGOs Forum

⁶⁰ National Ranching Company

things, our claim is that, how can we be living in this area for many years, and still being denied the right to live here and as a result we are driven out of this land and an individual person, so called investor is given our land. ⁶¹

This suggests a contradiction in government laws as on the one hand, the government through its law provides that, when an individual or group of people resides for many years in a certain piece of land, such land becomes a customary property [a customary right to land] that can be sold and bought. On the other hand, it is the same government [through its laws on investment] is pushing the local community away for investors without compensations and even an alternative place to settle. Although selling and buying of customary land is possible and legal, the process is cumbersome and confusing. This is because, in principle, rights of occupancy can be bought, sold, leased and mortgaged in Tanzania; in practice, however, the land market is constrained by many layers of government control. The formal market for transfers requires government approval, and land received through grants must be held for three years before the landholder can sell the rights. The transfer of a granted right of occupancy must be approved by the municipality and registered. A holder of a customary right of occupancy can sell the right, subject to the approval of (and subject to any restrictions imposed by) the village council.

Tenure contradiction is at its worst even discriminatory putting at loss the pastoralists, especially the pastoralist women. For instance, the statutory law [the Land Acts, Cap 113 and 114] explicitly promotes equality and the right of women to own property in similar weight with men. Likewise, in a matter of matrimonial land, women are also accorded a right to co-occupancy [section 160 (1) of the Land Act]⁶² and legal protection upon disposition of matrimonial property, requiring spouses to obtain a written consent

⁶¹ Interview a an elderly Maasai elder of Ngaiti sub village, August, 2012

⁶² Cap 113 [R.E 2002]

[Section 161(3) (b) of the Land Act].⁶³ Nevertheless, on the other hand, customary rule over land among the pastoral Maasai overtly denies the right of women to inherit properties including land. This implies that, despite the presence of well-framed gender sensitive land legislations that guarantee bunch of rights for women in ownership of land, women continue to fall into a legal black-hole due to customs and norms that prohibits women from ownership.

Whereas men find it easier to leave for the cities and look for alternative jobs,⁶⁴ the left behind are women and their children with livestock, without access to water, grazing land, and places where they can easily fetch firewood not to mention herbal medicines and building sticks. The law⁶⁵ is thus not clear and still unjust on these women not to mention their children despite the legal texts guarantees. This confusion, might in one way or another, brings some kind of benefits to the government through its contracts with multinationals and other such investors. But, on the bottom line, the social networks pastoral Maasai, especially women depend on to access livelihood assets such as gazing land [for firewood and water collection] is far disturbed, heightened and completely lost. At the same time, Maasai women who had previously accessed land via customary claims found that such claims were no longer upheld, both as there was not enough land to go round and because many women claimed that they did not have ability to purchased, land. Thus many, widows, polygamous wives, found themselves landless. In fact, women pastoralists are abandoned without any resource. At the same

⁶³ Cap 113 [R.E 2002]

⁶⁴ As hair dressers, watchmen, vending herbal medicines (Munishi, 2013)

⁶⁵ Both the policy [National Land policy, 1995], and the Land laws [Village Land Act, 1999] promised to ensure that existing rights in land [e.g. the customary rights] and recognized long standing occupation or use of land are clarified and secured by the law [Section 7 (1e) of the Village Land Act. No 5, 1999]. In the same vein, they both promised to also facilitate an equitable distribution of and access to land by all women and men and fair and prompt compensation to any person whose right of occupancy is revoked. However, the above promises remained in paper to the Maasai pastoralist, with consequences on women and their children when it comes to the need for investment related issues [Investment Act No. 21, 1997].

time, they are prisoners of both traditions and modern laws implementation. As far as the traditions are concerned, they are only guardians of livestock and any other kind of property. They do not have access to anything without a strict recommendation from a male head of household or again from any male-kinship members from the large family. Concerning land law implementation, they are also again at loss because there isn't any room left for their survival plans. Unfortunately, in these conditions they still have to take full care of their children in the absence of their husband. Men easily get married to other women where they go, and forget about their families.

This denotes that, with privatization of Mkata ranch and individualization of land, customary tenure and practices that have been used by the Maasai pastoralists such as those of Ngaiti-Luhoza is increasingly becoming insecure. Instead of their customary tenure help them to benefit from reforms; they end up losing their traditional rights of access to the grazing land. This confirms one aspect of the failure or neglect of the land reforms policies in Tanzania to design policies and regulations that accommodates pastoralism proportionate to their needs and potential just like other livelihood systems such as farming. As consequence, pastoral rights have become increasingly marginalized and in some way even their rights and presence being ignored as with the case of pastoralists in Ngaiti-Luhoza sub village and privatization of Mkata ranch. As Nyerere indicates, "we have, for instance, specific zones for crops like cotton, coffee, tobacco and sisal, but nothing like that for livestock keeping. We even have specific areas for zebras (national parks) but livestock keepers are hanging" (Nyerere, 1981)⁶⁶.

Land privatization process had impact into pastoralist women livelihood in two folds. First, women are increasingly losing some traditional secondary rights and indirect benefits initially held and enjoyed under the communally held land tenure system. Even though the law provides women with right to benefit from different ways from land allocations including allocation by the village authorities, and inheritance, pastoral

⁶⁶ J. K. Nyerere, Morogoro, August, 1981

women are unable to claim such rights because of their indirect rights of access tied to their fathers, husbands and brothers. An elderly woman elaborates in this interview:

In our society, the whole community owns the land, so there is no individual who owns the land. But when it comes to how to get the right to use, a woman's right to use the land from its obligations is obtained through a man. So, as women, we are treated like children, we do not possess any property, but our men are. For example, due to our system of property ownership, you can see that even in the on-going land dispossessions as exemplified here in Ngaiti, women are unable to claim in their own even though we have suffered in our practical daily tasks like fetching water as many sites have been blocked by the new owners⁶⁷.

This signifies that, since men own nearly the entire livelihood assets and key decision making positions women need, in the light of privatization and individualization of Mkata ranch, women are not able to benefit from new legal rights operating under the 'market regulated' mechanism due to lack of negotiation power. During interviews, the village chairperson of Twatwatwa village had this to say:

When an investor comes to the village, he submits an application to the village council. The council discusses the application and submit to village assembly for approval. The contradiction happens when an investor takes time to invest after the acquisition of the title. During acquisition and investment time, individuals [who are not legal owners] may come and acquire that land customarily without permission from the investors or even the village authorities. When the investor tries to re-possess his land from the illegally settled people, confrontations usually happens as each part tries to defend his claim over the land.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Interview with an elderly Maasai woman in Ngaiti-Luhoza sub-village, September 10th, 2012

⁶⁸ Interview with village chairperson of Twatwatwa village, October 2010

Interview with the district land officer, revealed that, the process of privatization and dispossession of land has often resulted into misunderstanding among investors and landholders as elaborated in the following interviews:

In practice, land expropriation is often not conducted in accordance with legal requirements. In some cases, the government converts village land to general land to make it available to investors without paying the village adequate compensation and without requiring or encouraging joint ventures or other local community participation in land development and enterprises. In addition to failing to compensate cultivators for the value of annual harvests lost, government compensation may fail to compensate other users of land, such as pastoralists and users of forest resources. Pastoralists in particular have lost land to tourism development, national park expansion and infrastructure development. In some cases, investors have circumvented the requirement for government land expropriation and dealt directly with villages. Village councils may be incentivized to negotiate directly with investors rather than wait for government intervention because the councils have an opportunity to set annual rent and request premium payments from the investors.

Women also note to be confronting in a special way the shared communal challenges that pastoral communities face in Kilosa. During FGDs with women in Ngaiti, participants agreed that, privatization has brought chaos in their homes as land gain more value for farming and other uses. Their men are selling land and leave their homes for urban opportunism and spend the money without offering any assistance to their remaining families. Some men have been spending the money to buying motorbikes, cars, which in return does not offer any assistance to families let alone women.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ FGD with women in Ngaiti-sub village, October 2010

This confirms the manner in which land markets are not gender neutral but rather institutions that reinforce the existing status quo and to shift right of access according to the laws of productivity and viability which has less to do with the welfare and social needs of the pastoralist women. As Razavi (2007) and Whitehead and Tsikata (2003) indicate, markets embody gender hierarchies as they are found in the societies, which are structured along political and social constructs infused with social norms and regulations which excludes women.

Another woman confirmed:

We have been told to leave Ngaiti, Where shall we go now? Personally, my husband left the kids and me many years ago. I have lived on the business of selling milk in the market and get income for daily needs here at home. Now where will I move to, for I do not even have the money to purchase another area? I do not have any other way to live. We heard women can get loans from the banks to finance business, but this is very difficult for us given the condition of obtaining the loan. We are asked to submit a certificate of land title, something that does not exist amongst us for we own nothing, including our own clothes. Honestly, life has been very difficult after Mkata ranch took our land and gives it to the investors.⁷⁰

The results indicate that, with privatization, the security of tenure that pastoral women had in the past through their male relatives under customary arrangements and practices is increasingly reduced and restrained as families, clans that provided customary access weaken. The fact that pastoral women are traditionally not independent owners of household assets, they are basically landless and unable to access credit institutions to obtain a credit. Basically, they are unable to participate at all in land purchase as individuals and if they could, high market prices and customs inhibit them from acquiring land. The diminishing trend of women usufruct rights and

⁷⁰ Interview with a pastoralist woman in Ngaiti sub-village, October, 2012

lack of capacity to negotiate and acquire land from land markets confirms women's exclusion from market structures. They are unable to negotiate on the land markets where they enter with less capacity to wield power to their advantage in comparison to men despite the existence of formalized policy and regulations that support their rights. This substantiates Flintan's observations that when reforms occur, women are in danger of falling between two stools – "customary institutions and that of legal systems" (Flintan, 2011).

Secondly, with land enclosures following land privatization, individual owners of land including investors have fenced their lands, and this has had some specific impacts on Maasai women by increasing their daily domestic workloads. Such loads are linked to difficulties in fetching and collecting water particularly during prolonged dry seasons, for it has increasingly forced women and girl children to walk up to 8 kilometers with children on their back in a day in order to fetch water for domestic and homestead grazed livestock. For example, due to land fencing, access to river Mkondoa; the mostly depended source of water for the majority of the villages in Kilosa including Ngaiti sub-village even during rainy season is increasingly curtailed. The investors and farming communities are the ones in control of the water from the river, for they pipe all water, which comes from river Mkondoa to their farms. As a result, nothing goes to the Ngaiti people. The same is true for the collection of firewood.⁷¹

During FGD with women held in Ngaiti and Mabwegere, women confirmed the difficult they face in performing their roles for water and firewood is everything to their livelihood since their roles are directly attached to them. Water is required for livestock use and, domestic use including washing clothes, cooking, and bathing. They also noted that, although there are some few water sources in their areas, but due to multiple users including men, they sometimes spend several hours in queue because as a matter of tradition, men comes first in use of resources including water, so they must finish before they can draw theirs. Likewise the collection role is much more involving during

⁷¹ FGD with women in Ngaiti sub-village, October, 2010

prolonged dry seasons, as the usual areas are fenced by investors. This has increased their workloads in multiple ways because they still have to perform them regardless of the hardships, including being forced to wake up very early, to escape the queue, and go out in the fields to find water before they can prepare food for the family and feed the cattle. In some occasions, they are forced to fetch water from ponds, which are usually unclean for human usage including washing dishes and clothes.⁷² One of the women explained, “Access to water has become very problematic these days. Due to fencing, multiple sources of water we've been using in the past are now in the hands of private owners. We are forced to use water in ponds for washing clothes and even washing dishes, same water being used for livestock”.⁷³

Another woman confirmed:

Increasingly, we are buying water for domestic and livestock use, which is making life more complicated and expensive. 20 liters of water costs between Tshs. 2,000/= to Tshs. 3,000/= depending on the season. We spend not less than Tshs. 20,000/= a day for water, let alone the costs involved in transporting the water from the water points using motorcycles or bicycles. Some of us may afford in the absence of their men because they an income from the sale of charcoal and firewood, and some are even running some shops and food bars. But to the majority of households, it is increasingly very hard. We no longer use donkeys to assist in our roles, as they are no longer available as before.⁷⁴

Traditionally pastoral women use donkeys as mode of transport to ferry water or any luggage from one point to another. However, I noted that the use of donkeys is being avoided because it is seen as a sign of poverty with the recent increased use of

⁷² FGD with women in Ngaiti sub-village, October, 2010

⁷³ FGD with women in Ngaiti-sub-village, October, 2010

⁷⁴ Interview with female Key informant, Ngaiti sub-village, October, 2010

motorbikes as modern means of transport. As a result women prefer walking to fetch water [Picture3] and firewood, if they cannot afford to pay motorists or cyclists⁷⁵. The need to walk increasingly long distances, and is exposing women to fear of attacks and even rape on some occasions. Elephants, for example, have been known to attack people in Kilosa and are another risk.



Picture 3: A Maasai woman drawing water from the river

This result implies that, individualization and privatization of traditional grazing land and water sources in pastoral areas of Kilosa like Ngaiti sub-village has resulted into land enclosure and restricted mobility of pastoralists including their cattle. As consequence, the secondary use of land and land resources previously enjoyed by women has become limited and blocked. And this has resulted into increased workloads for women when it comes to performing their collection roles: fetching water and firewood. These results depict one of the dangers of land privatization and individual titling [i.e. land markets prescriptions] and women rights to land, where women who enter into the market without enough power to wield to their advantage, lose out in the market systems and are unable to even assert their claims. This confirms the skeptical position about the wider opportunities offered by the market-oriented solutions, which in practice tends to exclude and limit women access to land (Lastarria- Cornhiel, 1997; 2009; Deere and Leon, 2003).

⁷⁵ Interview with Key informant, village chairperson, Mabwegere village, October 11th, 2010

3.3.4 Commercialization of Agricultural Sector “Kilimo Kwanza” Policy Initiatives

As was explained early in this chapter is that, land grabbing particularly through turning agricultural land into commercial land is a dynamic that is increasingly happening almost in the entire East African region (Flintan, 2011; Fratkin, 2014). Pastoral places of Tanzania have not been immune to the influence of large-scale commercial farming, and this implicates to the entire pastoral livelihood (Mung’ong’o and Mwamfupe, 2003; Sendalo, 2009). However, with regard to Kilosa case study, from my own observations confirmed by other sources [as further discussed hereafter in this section] paints a picture of increasing vulnerability for pastoral Maasai women’s access to land. In view of that, this section argues, as Wangui (2009) and Flintan (2011) does that, women’s right to land and land related resources is increasingly declined as commercial farming reduces their access to land.

During field visits it became evident that, there is an increase in demands for land in Kilosa due to the increased focus on agricultural production through contract farming and commercialization production of crops. As consequence, these demands have increasingly contributed to the loss of grazing land, change in land use and the most with severe consequences on poor households and women. For example, I found that, as a result of the on-going policy initiatives; the Agriculture First policy initiatives [2009]⁷⁶ in particular, many village land parcels across the district, particularly the traditional rangelands of the Maasai have become potential areas for intensive large scale crop cultivation for food security and biofuels demands⁷⁷. Large parcels of land are leased to

⁷⁶ The Agriculture First Policy, as *Kilimo Kwanza policy [KK]* is also known; is a ten pillar policy initiative by the Government of Tanzania to transform the agricultural sector from traditional into a modern and commercial oriented system through green revolution by increasing investments through increased infrastructure and technological developments (Makwarimba and Ngowi, 2012).

⁷⁷ Observations during fieldwork visits in October, 2012

both local and foreign investors. Serengeti Breweries Limited (SBL)⁷⁸ is among the foreign investors operating one of the large-scale maize estates in Kilosa of about 13,400 acres of land [Picture 4]. This farm is located between Gongoni and Mfumi village in Kilosa.

Likewise, international investors including the Chinese investors are also among the large scale agricultural investors found in Kilosa, operating large-scale rice farms, maize farms and sisal farms [Picture 5]. Tanzanian citizens are also part of the local investors and farmers who are actively involved in rice farming in Batimi village and other parts of Kilosa previously accessible to Maasai. This is in the end leaving a very marginal land is left for use by the local community.⁷⁹ Local investors in Kilosa also include powerful influential people in the district. For example, while in Mbwade village, the respondents complained on how some officials in the district are increasingly grabbing their traditional grazing land. They even show me one of the plots, which pastoralists' claim has been taken by the former Kilosa District Commissioner. The sub-village chairperson of Mbwade did also note that, they were just caught by surprise one day when they saw a group of army officers enter into the area and start clearing and tilled the land with a caterpillar and fenced the area. When they questioned the process, they were told that the land belongs to the former district commissioner and therefore they were no longer allowed to pasture the cattle.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ SBL is a subsidiary company of East African Breweries limited and Diageo plc. Located in Dar es salaam, Tanzania

⁷⁹ District Agricultural and Livestock Officer, October 10th, 2012

⁸⁰ Interview with the sub-village chairperson of Mbwade, October 10th, 2012



Picture 4: SBL maize farm in Kilosa in 2012



Picture 5: Sisal Estate in Kilosa under the China State Farms Company in Batimi Village in 2012

The complaints of pastoralists are considered ill founded by comparison:

The intention is to increase food production by making use of the irrigation system and fertile land. The complaint by pastoralists of losing their grazing land in my opinion it holds no truth. The district has demarcated their legitimate settlement areas for use. These areas they can use depend on their land use plans including grazing. The problem is that, pastoralists have been seasonally grazing their livestock in open areas for several years, consequently assuming ownership of the areas. Unfortunately, with increasing demand for land for crop cultivation, these areas have been allocated to investors; therefore pastoralists who claim ownership of Ngaiti for example, have never been legitimate owners of those areas ⁸¹

⁸¹ Interview with the district land officer, September 2nd, 2012

As I indicated in earlier section of this chapter, statutorily, where land is leased out to investors, the local community legally inhabiting in the land to be leased are required to be compensated for what they have invested (including certain crops and buildings and not pasture and water) in the respective land before being evicted (LA, 1999; VLA, 1999; Investment Act, 1997). However, for Maasai pastoralists such as those of Ngaiti sub-village, compensation has never been possible due to difficulties in proving legal rights to the land, owing to their mobile habit and use of none-permanent building structures which could justify their permanence in the land they occupied, for the only things they leave behind as they move are manure and acacia trees. Unlike men, women were mostly affected on the issue of compensation as traditionally women are in charge of building houses. Therefore, lack of compensation increases burden to women in building houses when they move to another settlement. Likewise, where proof of settlement exists like a case of Ngaiti, most of women are more ignorant of legal procedures than men, which also contributed to making them into a disadvantaged position. As Flintan attests, land use verification among pastoral communities is regularly a difficult issue, and as a consequence they end up uncompensated (Flintan, 2011).

To pastoral women in Kilosa, large-scale commercial farming has created great difficulties in their daily roles. Not only have dry seasons grazing areas have been removed and fenced, but also water sources have blocked and polluted by large number of modern and traditional irrigation systems in the district as indicated in the quotation below:

Kilimo Kwanza is a setback and a curse to our livelihood system and community as a whole. Day by day, we are losing pasturing land and the new holders are fencing their lands, as consequence, we are forced to purchase crop residues from the farmers. Since livestock routes that previously provided access to water has been blocked after the fencing, we are forced to sometimes pay certain amount of money to the farmers in order to get access to the rivers, or even buy water from the people who do the vending. Fencing of land has also affected the manner in which we used to easily obtain dead woods. Many of us are now

forced to collect firewood far away thus, all this makes our lives more challenging particularly when we have to fetch water, fetch firewood and perform our domestic roles. We are not sure what will happen to our children when they reach our age... probably they will no longer be able to keep cattle as Maasai because if they lack land for grazing, they will not be able to keep cattle.⁸²

Commercialized farming increases the insecurity and uncertain future of women's individual access to land by affecting their traditional land use which they require to perform their domestic roles. Interviews conducted in different places and with different people also confirm this. Flintan et al (2011) observed similar impacts of commercial farming and increased land access uncertainty on pastoral women, an argument also shared by El-Ghonemy (2001) and Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008).

3.3.5 Shift in Roles, Status and Livelihood

As noted earlier in this chapter, a very strict gender role exists among the Maasai, where men are in charge of security issues, herding and raiding and decision-making. Women on the other hand are round-the-clock household managers, care for the fields and management of daily life. However, I found that, restrained access to grazing land, reduction in herd size is having an impact on the roles, responsibilities, and status of men and women, and gender relations between them. Some men have migrated to the other parts of the country and change occupation [e.g. in the cities they opt for wage employment activities like watchmen, hair stylists, and vendors of herbal medicine. And for those who opt to other rural areas they opt for crop cultivation and livestock keeping]. In an interview with a pastoral man who is street vendor in Morogoro town had this to say:

In fact we are forced to into selling drugs, slippers, knives and swords in the city because these days we have nothing else to do in Kilosa. We no longer have livestock as before, because cows do not have a place to pasture. Most of the

⁸² Interview with an elderly Maasai pastoralist woman in Ngaiti, October 20th, 2010

pasturelands have turned into fenced farmed land, and the government does not want us, they say Maasai cattle are destroying the environment. So we see it's rather best to just do these kinds of work such as selling herbal medicines and other jobs.⁸³

A Maasai hairdresser also confirmed:

I do not have any other way to sustain my life and that of my family back home rather than hairdressing. It is a pity that I have to do this for women and not to my fellow *morans* as am used to. But what else can I do since I no longer have cattle in Ngaiti? I sold all of my cattle, and decided to come to Morogoro and work as a hairdresser.⁸⁴

Women in addition to their traditional roles, are now performing roles such as livestock tending including grazing, protection of the household members and the livestock, and decision making roles, which used to be traditionally men's roles. These roles include herding of cattle with the help of younger boys and even becoming the 'de facto' heads of households. However, these changes affect women, for not only herding has increased their workloads, but also affected milk production. Likewise, given the strict existing stereotypes of only men are the 'de jure' heads the households, women find themselves becoming heads of households but without decision making powers over use and disposal of land, livestock. This greatly affect women remaining in villages who are left to head households⁸⁵ at the same time being traditionally constrained to have limited decision making powers as elaborated in this interview:

⁸³ Interview with male pastoralist, a street vendor from Ngaiti sub-village in Morogoro town, October, 2012

⁸⁴ Interview with male pastoralist, a hairdresser from Ngaiti sub-village in Morogoro town, October, 2012; *Moran* refers to a young Maasai man who has passed through initiation into manhood and who is, by default, a "warrior" for the community.

⁸⁵ Interview with female pastoral Maasai respondent in Parakuyo sub village, October 28th, 2010

My husband left for Iringa many years ago, I have not heard from him since then. I cannot support myself with the family I have. I wanted to sell the goats to buy food and send my children to school, but I can't because he is away and customs prohibit me. I have been very sick, but I cannot go to hospital since I do not have money to pay for the services. Traditionally, women's access to properties such as land and livestock was through men, and in the absence of their spouses, even if they assume the decision making roles, they cannot decide on their own to dispose the livestock and buy land or migrate to another area without obtaining consent from elders.⁸⁶

Another woman confirmed:

The land laws provide us with the right to inherit and have land. But the issue is, the women do not even have the land, how are they going to get it while land is traditionally a man's world. One would assume that, because women are left home with cattle and everything to decide as men leaves for the cities, but they do not know that, even when men are not here, they still control what is left at home through their fellow men. To some women, they do not even have the cattle to milk and sell in exchange for money. The cattle women they are looking after, is like a wealth stored in a hardened glass and women can have a look but they cannot break it and make use of it.⁸⁷

All in all, unlike men, women are disproportionately hit due to increase in roles and difficulties they encounter in trying to carry out these roles in the midst of the restrains. Land access, roles and status have generally been complexly related as the women expressed:

⁸⁶ Interview with female Maasai pastoralist in Ngaiti sub-village October 21st, 2010

⁸⁷ Interview with Anna, Parakuyo, October 23rd, 2012

Livestock are no longer mobile and as consequence, herd sizes in many households have been reduced. When cattle are curtailed from changing ecological sites, you narrow their ability in milk production. Since we depend on milk for food and as source of income and power, the decrease in milk production means an impact on our source of income, which at the end results into economic dependence on men. In some households with large herd size, men are in control of milk sales and this makes women losing control of milk. Likewise, due to shortage of milk, we are forced to prepare modern food and eat more vegetables, an activity which has added more and more workload in food preparation than before. Boiling of maize takes several hours and this means more fuel is required and water too.⁸⁸

Women in a focus group concurred that sedentary life has brought restrictions to mobility has had an economic and social impact on their livelihoods as women and as pastoralists, by affecting their cattle dependence system. As consequence, herd size is increasingly reduced, with, further consequences in milk reduction and food sources. Since they are no longer having enough milk, they are now having very low if not lacking the economic power usually obtained through milk. More labor is spent in terms of time to cook, find fuel and water is required to cook grains rather than livestock products, which also adds to women's burden⁸⁹. Anna, a single parent is the owner of a small shop. She noted the pressures that went along with the changing land use patterns on her daily chores, "Being a single mother, I still need to wake up very early at around 4am every day, do the house chores including milking, and prepare food for my children and for the restaurant. I open the shop at 7am and close at 10pm. This is my daily programme. I can't depend on the boys I have employed to work for me, for at one time; one of them stole everything from my shop. So I am usually around⁹⁰".

⁸⁸ Interview with a pastoralist woman in Ngaiti sub-village, October, 29th 2012

⁸⁹ FGD with women in Ngaiti- sub village, September 10th, 2012

⁹⁰ Interview with Anna, Parakuyo, 19th October, 2010

Likewise, women bemoaned the erosion of their traditional culture, norms and values as Maasai women. One of the elderly women confirmed:

Life has become very difficult for us. Everything involves money and most women lack money. Because of hardships women are experiencing in the villages after losing milk, some women are now forced to move to town to take up new opportunities and earn an income. Some are even forced into indecent sexual relationship with wealthier pastoralists and other people in exchange of earning money and food in order to cater for family needs which depends on them.⁹¹

These views and the position of these women implies that, much as land privatization and commercialization is forcing livelihood shifts and affects the entire pastoral livelihoods, a gender differentiated impact is seen on women; it disrupts the ability of women to perform their gender specific roles and add more workloads in performing them with some being forced into indecent livelihood means like multiple sexual relationships. Such impacts confirm incidences of impacts of individual titling on women's roles. The impacts of land privatization on pastoral women gender roles have also been observed amongst the other pastoral areas such as in Tanzania (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe (2003) and Marsabit district in Kenya (Fratkin and Roth, 2006). For example, Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe (2003) observed that, due to land privatization, pastoral livelihoods are melting and women collection roles are curtailed.

These results show that, even in situations where women assume decision-making roles earlier made by men such as disposing of livestock, they are virtually powerless. This is because, traditionally, this is role-played by men as heads of households. This is because women have inherent fear when it comes to decision making power due to traditional socialization process embedded in them based on patriarchal system. Traditionally men reserved all decision making power and have a right to own properly including women. All powers concerning decision over the use of the resources are made by men, women

⁹¹ Interview with an elderly woman, Ngaiti sub-village, October 22th, 2010

are powerless in pastoralist society, however, and, for example, and have full authority over all the food (meat, milk and grain) that is brought into the house. Although the new land tenure/the reforms privatization (land rights lost if the land claims to undermine customary traditions, which in turn erodes the protection of women's rights. The reality of the matter is not the same. Men have continued to tend to dominate almost all large stocks leaving women powerless as one pastoral woman was noted saying: "Oh yes, we are pastoralists! But it's just by name: it is rather our men who are the definite pastoralists since they reserve decision making powers over livestock and even us".⁹²

This confirms such incidences of disadvantageous results of land reforms on pastoral women due to existing unequal power relations. Due to market in land, it has left women as de facto heads of households but without decision-making power and a voice over household assets. As Jacobs argues, reforms have had detrimental effects on rural women who are assuming household decision making roles, for usually a husband's or father's, in settings in which men already hold much social and household power (Jacobs, 2010; 2013).

Likewise, some women are also migrating to towns and cities to cope with the changes that are taking place, and take part in income generating activities including sale of livestock products, particularly milk in the city. Mama Nashapai, [Picture 6] migrated from Ngaiti sub-village to Morogoro town. She noted:

I am [like] a widow, my husband migrated from Ngaiti many years ago, and I have not heard from him since then. The milk business provides income for my own self and my children who are still in Ngaiti. We have several cattle in Kiduhi and a few in Ngaiti, and this is where the milk comes from. My children bring milk to me every morning with the motorcycle. The price ranges between Tshs.1,000/= per liter and Tshs. 500/= for a half a liter bottle. Life in the city is very difficult for us women. Everything needs money, from eating, traveling, to

⁹² Telephone interview with Mama Theresia Mapindu of Mabwegere sub-village, May 2nd, 2014

accommodation. Other women especially younger who also have children, life has become more difficult for them.⁹³



Picture 5: Maasai woman in milk business

This was also confirmed during the FGDs with women I talked to in Ngaiti-sub-village. The women noted that, women are increasingly forced to move to urban areas. Due to high living costs, some young women are forced into indecent life to cope and this worries them of their future.⁹⁴ This result implies that, due to diminishing secondary access to land, women have been forced to challenge the traditions and migrate to the cities to earn a living. This is a new trend contrary to the past where only men would independently move. However, in the process of enduring the consequences of their decisions, they are exposed to high living costs with some being forced into sexual relationships. Such effects confirm such negative consequences of land privatization and individualization on rural women whose access to resources depends on men.

Similarly, it was also found that land reforms in the context of land privatization, commercial farming, and land grabbing in Kilosa has severe implications on the livelihood of pastoral Maasai women. From observations and confirmed by interviews and FGDs hereafter; the amalgamations of earlier noted land reform dynamics in Kilosa [in terms of land privatization, commercial farming], have indeed influenced and

⁹³ Interview with Mama Nashapai, Morogoro town, July 7th, 2013

⁹⁴ FGD with women in Ngaiti-sub-village, October 19th, 2012

transformed the manner within which pastoralists traditionally managed their livelihood resources. Due to reforms, some Maasai opted for sedentary life – voluntarily and involuntarily; combining crop cultivation in addition to livestock keeping within their homelands (I observed this in Kiduhi sub-village). Among the sedentary pastoralists, some have opted to sell their cattle, and invest in alternative source such buying motorcycles, motorcars, building hotels and guest houses and use them as source of incomes in the area. However, others have migrated to other parts of the country.

Among the migrants, there are some who migrated to rural areas of Rufiji, Lindi, and Iringa and are maintaining livestock keeping as their main source of livelihood. Yet others have migrated to the urban centers of Morogoro and Dar es Salaam as city traders in herbal medicines, hairdressers, tour guides and security guards. For example, among the sedentary pastoralists, the major concern was restricted mobility, which has in the end forced them to undertake livestock keeping in an almost zero grazing system. The elders complained that, this system has resulted into impoverishment, food insecurity and destitution, for the large portion of the area allocated for them is not fit for livestock keeping let alone cultivation. Large outbreak of diseases such as East Coast Fever and foot and mouth diseases are some of the diseases they complained to affect their livestock while they are unable to buy medicines for the cattle due to the loss of their wealth.⁹⁵ Likewise, uncertain and insecure settlement is also affecting their life since their land is still in contestation with the investors and the court has not decided their fate hence unable to think of investing in more livestock.⁹⁶ These changes have in the end impacted on women in terms of their gender roles and status; access to land and land resources; and their socio-economic vulnerabilities and workloads as discussed hereunder.

⁹⁵ FGD with elders in Ngaiti and Mabwegere, October 20th 2010 and October 24th, 2010 respectively

⁹⁶ FGD with elders in Ngaiti and Mabwegere, October 20th 2010 and October 24th, 2010 respectively

3.3.6 Land Insecurity

Shift in land use and livelihood system has not only changed and altered the existing gender roles, but also impacted on the manner within which land and land resources were traditionally accessed, managed and distributed to men and women. As noted earlier, due to land reforms, pastoral land tenure in Kilosa has become insecure with land privatization and individualization, and agriculture commercialization processes. As consequence, pastoral women's right to land is increasingly becoming marginal and under pressure. Not only are women required to negotiate their access to and control of land within in the community, family and lineage systems, but also in the bargaining process related to the implementation of land privatization and agricultural commercialization programmes as elaborated in this interview:

Significant changes have been made by the land laws, which provide women with an equal right in similar weight with men used to purchase and even inherit land. These rights include also the right to benefit from the family land within the matrimonial home and even upon divorce. In both situations, the law demands that women should not be discriminated. However, although pastoral women as with other women have similar rights under law, regardless of their participation in the village authorities as provided by the law, rarely are their voices being entertained in decision-making forums. Customs prohibit them from talking in front of men, as a result, very few are able to benefit from the opportunities offered by the reforms including questioning for their rights.⁹⁷

Mama Anna who noted that, women in particular experience lack of information and customs still holds them back also confirmed this. She added that:

Many of us are illiterate and very not informed of the changes and rights in law for women. Through my own initiatives, I have attended several trainings

⁹⁷ Interview, the village chairperson in Twatwatwa village, October 24th, 2012

organized by the LARRRI⁹⁸, TANIPE and CLIP⁹⁹ on land issues and rights. Through my participation, I became aware of our rights to land as women and even of the legal provisions regarding our rights as women. I learnt a lot about land issues from fellow Maasai women in Kenya, and how important land is for a woman. I am also trying in a very discreet way to raise awareness to my fellow women in our village.¹⁰⁰

This result suggests that, whereas titling was expected to have a welfare benefit on women, the result indicates that due to lack of access to information,¹⁰¹ their capacity and security over assets is affected. This is suggesting that they are limited in their responses and thus, become increasingly vulnerable victims to greater political and socio-economic forces like privatization. Likewise, it also illustrates the difficulty for women to engage with the complex legal apparatus and customs, even when their rights are provided for in law. Such complexity created by land privatization challenges the individualized tenure theoretical perspective that claims to bring more efficient use of land, tenure security, land titling to landless poor including women with wider equal opportunities to participate in a more secured manner.

On the contrary insecurity in land has increased, and land titling is still an issue to pastoral women in Kilosa as indicated in the following interviews:

We heard on the radio and in meetings that we all women have the right to own land, but it is still very hard for us. The men themselves have no land for them not to mention us women? Every dawning day farmers and investors grab many

⁹⁸ This is an acronym for Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (LARRRI) also known as HAKIARDHI in Swahili, a Tanzanian based institution

⁹⁹ Community Based Livestock Initiatives Programme (CLIP), a Kenya based institution

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Anna, Parakuyo, October 24th, 2010

¹⁰¹ An essential ingredient to access credit and legal facilities,

areas. But when it comes to us, we are viewed as third - class villagers. Even if we women endeavoring to assert our rights that exist in the law and the constitution, it is still difficult meaning. For example, there are some of our fellow women as representatives in village bodies where land issues are deliberated, but there are just there to fill the numbers. They cannot contribute anything or knock down anything. This is because we are not supposed to speak in front of men and our opinions are considered nothing for we are considered as children and not valued.¹⁰².

Similarly, during FGDs with women held in Mabwegere and Ngaiti- Luhoza villages, all women confirmed that, land reforms have not benefited them because customary practices prohibit them¹⁰³.

Nevertheless, it would be simplistic to say that land titling has rendered women victims in every case. It was found that women are increasingly breaking the edge of customs and traditions, which mediate their access to land and consequently prevent them from benefiting from the reformed land tenure system. This puts forward the fundamental aspect of differentiation within the social group of women. During interviews, I noted that women who had exposure to formal education and basic knowledge of the statutory land law legislations and women's rights to land were able to acquire land. I also noted that, the women were acquiring land in their own right despite oppositions they face at the community level and local land committees which are controlled by men despite the presence of women in the various land decisions making bodies in the village institutions. Simply put, women are increasingly challenging both legal and customary practices to inheritance laws; manipulate discriminatory customary institutions and practices that deny their access to land. These actions have accelerated pastoral women to take bold stance towards land access, create new routes of access to

¹⁰² Interview with Mama Machau, Mabwegere village, October 10th, 2012

¹⁰³ FGDs with women held in Ngaiti and Mabwegere, October 10th, 2012

land, and in some cases, new rights, but these successes remain exceptional where Anna noted that given the edge she managed to break, the men in her village call her “The Iron Lady”. Interestingly, some single women are now independent land owners by acquiring direct rights to land and land resources through purchase in their own rights, with some through their male family members (brothers) as reflected in this interview: The laws have assisted in the transformation of our traditional customs and practices which used to place women as property to be kept under the empire of men. We now know that, women including widows have rights and that they can also own properties including land as with men and with other women in the marriage institutions.¹⁰⁴

During an interview with Mama Anna Oloishuro, she had this to narrate in relation to her “journey to freedom” as she put it:

I am a divorced [like] and a single mother with four children. I was able to break the edge of customs and benefit which denies our inclusion to benefit from rights over land and I do have my own several acres of land. It has never been easy for me I have to admit. After learning that land has become very important asset, I also decided to acquire land from our community. I now own two plots. Being a Maasai woman and single, it has never been an easy task to acquire this land and it is still not easy to date, despite the legal provision that provides equal land rights for men and women. I was abused and neglected, only because I need land, which to our traditions, is still in men’s hands. And even if you have to lodge your complaint to the village authority, they are also composed of men in majority...the women have no voice in the meeting. Practically, the elders are the ones in charge of allocating land, although according to the law, it is the council. It was not easy for me, but against these odds, I have managed to have my own

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Anna, Parakuyo, October 21st, 2010

land, and the communities understand that this is Anna's area, and nobody can take that land from me.¹⁰⁵

Although the laws safeguarding women's rights are explicit in banning any contravening customary laws and practices (as provided in Section 20 (2) of the VLA, 1999), towards women, the above results signifies that women still have very little recourse for challenging inequitable and discriminatory customary norms, values and practices within their own communities. This reflects one challenge of the implementation of the so-called 'very gender- sensitive' land regulations and legislations on women in Tanzania. It replicates the argument that, land markets rarely favour rural poor women neither are they gender neutral (Deere and Leon, 2003). While one may easily argue that since land reforms have facilitated a well decentralized system of land governance and dispute settlement mechanisms to the local level, women may also channel their dissatisfactions and discriminatory treatments they experience in the course land acquisition.

On the contrary, women have little opportunity for seeking recourse from the existing land tribunal "judicial' system as granted under the Land Dispute Courts Act of 2002. The District Land and Housing Tribunal (DLHT) is located more than 40 km from the district and women lack economic muscle, education [fluency in Swahili not to mention English],¹⁰⁶ and knowledge of the legal process to embark upon this. The case of Anna represents the problem other women face with the land acquisition process, despite the legal right provided for every adult woman to acquire, hold, use, and deal with land as a right of any man as provided by the section 3 of the two land laws in Tanzania.¹⁰⁷ Power

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Anna, Morogoro, 20th October, 2010

¹⁰⁶ Sadly, the language of record in the tribunal is English, in terms of the filing of the case, proceedings and the judgments. Given the lack of economic muscle for this women to enable them to have an advocate and a translator, they end up unable to plead these cases and unable to follow the whole process. Consequently, they end up being the losers.

¹⁰⁷ Cap 113 and Cap 114 R.E 2002

relations and structures embedded within the customary institutions that mediate access to and use of land, impinge women negatively. Women like Anna have to go through abuse before they can benefit from the process as she demonstrated above in the interview. Bina Agarwal proclaimed that, both social and administrative factors that shape access to and use of land discriminate women when it comes to land ownership despite the existence of legal framework that supports direct and indirect rights to land for women in India (Agarwal, 1994; 2003).

Moreover, while existing work on land reforms and gender in pastoral societies acknowledge key positive changes on women rights following land reforms, however, I found that, although such changes are also taking place in Kilosa among the Ilparakuyo Maasai women as noted earlier, this case is different and unique. Whereas in Kenya Lesorogol (2003) found that transformation of the prohibitive customary practices among the Samburu women to highly facilitated by the Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and Non- Governmental organizations (NGOs), as is the case amongst Maasai women of Arusha where CBOs such as the Pastoral women's Council (PWC) is actively building awareness and capacity for these women (Ngoitiko, 2008) the transformation process among the pastoral areas of Kilosa is increasingly spearheaded by the church. Women are learning to stand up against an oppressive culture, as reflected in this interview:

Religion has really a transformed part of the customs and traditions that were discriminatory on women in relation to assets like livestock and land. The Bible is shaping born-again Christians and Christians from other churches, and men now feel that they should involve women in decision making from the family levels. Slowly, the elders have begun to understand that even women are also adults with independent mind as with men, and they can have independent decisions including even that of land.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Interview with an elderly Maasai man, a Tanzania Assemblies of God pastor in Twatwatwa village, October 27th, 2010

A woman confirmed that, some, as reflected in this interview, has embraced biblical teachings on the value of women and monogamous marriage: “The Maasai who reads and practices what the Bible says learn how to respect women.¹⁰⁹ The church is also helping to empower women, and inform them that they can be single or divorced and can still demand and own land, properties and businesses. This new dynamic has opened a space for women to be able to speak out their minds and even venture into politics and demand their rights within the on-going constitutional review meetings. This result supports the argument by Izumi (1999) that, rights and access to land depends on individual capability to negotiate and manipulate rules and norms, and to straddle different institutions, both formal and informal which differ by ethnicity and gender.

3.3.7 Emergence of Classes, Polarization of Pastoralism and Increased Women Vulnerabilities

Class emergence and polarization of pastoral communal traditions is increasingly a major problem affecting pastoral areas in almost the entire greater horn of Africa (Nori et al., 2005; Fratkin, 2001; 2014). Interestingly, this growing regional trend of economic differentiation is also evident among the pastoral Maasai in Kilosa case study. A wave of land privatization, commercial farming and reforms is increasingly integrating and shifting pastoral communal land rights to classes of wealthy individuals and groups from among the pastoral Maasai communities. The integration of these market-oriented dynamics into these pastoral areas has made households and clan members’ land to be transformed into an asset of value, making land transactions now common in pastoral community. While in fieldwork in Kilosa, a *moran* offered “in case you need a piece of land to buy, I can assist in organizing it for you... up to 50 hectares...!”.¹¹⁰ The *moran* belonged to the elite class, since he knew not only the value of land, but also how to

¹⁰⁹ Interview single mother, Esther, Parakuyo, 19th October, 2010

¹¹⁰ Interview with a male Maasai in Parakuyo sub-village, 11th October, 2012

organize the transactions, and fluently spoke Swahili and English.¹¹¹ This illustrates the penetration of money economy into pastoral societies which in the end has facilitates emergence of elite and unfamiliar class system. There is a class of rich and poor Maasai, and at the same time some Maasai women increasingly owning land. The grazing land, which was usually held communally, is increasingly in the hands of the few rich and powerful Maasai. As consequence, kin groups and clan members are excluded from communal access, a quite unfamiliar system to pastoralists.

Likewise, the rich and powerful categories of Maasai in the community by virtue of their existing socio-economic position are increasingly grabbing communally held land as a way to accumulate land and capital for their own individual use. As consequence, there is growing insecurity over access to and use of land and land resources [pasture, water, firewood] and the ability to exercise their various traditional mobile grazing options. This is to say, individual ownership tend to exclude kin groups and clan members from communal access, a new system and quite unfamiliar tradition to these pastoralists.¹¹² Class emergence is widening the existing power relations between men and women, and indirectly the one to suffer are largely women who lack direct control of resources like cattle, which can be used to buy land. Likewise, they lack also access to land, which they could use to collect firewood, water, and meet their gender specific roles as default household and food managers. During an interview with a Maasai woman in Ngaiti village, she had this to say:

These days life is not as it used to amongst us in the past. Nowadays everything is money centered; actually money controls everything. Formerly, if you want to farm or graze, no one would even prohibit you or even quarrel with you for the land were plenty, and livestock production was high. But nowadays, tending

¹¹¹ This is one of the cases of invisible land grabbers among these communities, for although people think of them as primitive and illiterate. Increasingly, market economy is also transforming their lives. In the future, land for the community will no longer be available.

¹¹² Interview with District Land officer, Kilosa, 21st October, 2010

cattle is no longer as it was, the moment you want to graze them in a certain portion of land, you are told not to for it has been purchased by investors. Now I'm asking myself where we are Maasai heading too. Is this a trick used by the government to end the Maasai? A Maasai without grazing land and large herd size is not a Maasai. Maybe you guys can tell us, because it is now those with money can have land and for the rest of us, it is all up to ourselves. I've heard even where we are now; there is someone with money who calls himself, an investor wants to buy. Where should we go with these children?¹¹³

I also noted similar concern during an interview with an elderly pastoralist man who had the following remarks:

Our communal life has changed so much. People are accumulating so much land for their own use, and there is no longer enough land for clan members. Every person you see is talking of his own property and is it those with enough wealth are increasingly enjoying. This is quite different from the past. Unfortunately it is those without many cattle who are poor who get very distressed because they must have money in order to buy cattle. Women tend to suffer more especially if it happens that where she happens to be married they are poor, such situation inhibit their access to land. As a consequence, the woman is unable to even have a plot to grow maize, fetch firewood and water. As a consequence, some are forced to engage in shameful acts to the extent of even engaging into sexual relationships only to get money and manage their life and care for the children they look after.¹¹⁴

During field visit in Kilosa, I also found that, with land privatization and individualization, the grazing land is increasingly becoming limited, leaving less and less space to accommodate vast livestock keeping. The communally held land, which also

¹¹³ Telephone interview with an elderly pastoralist woman of Ngaiti-Sub village, May 2nd, 2014

¹¹⁴ Telephone interview with an elderly pastoralist woman of Ngaiti-Sub village, May 2nd, 2014

used to be a grazing land, is sold to individuals for different uses mainly farming. This therefore forced pastoralists to reduce number of livestock as grazing and kept on decreasing on the one hand. On the other hand, land individualization made pastoralists sell their livestock to businessmen [during cattle markets held twice a month in each village] in order to buy land for grazing as well as farming. Since men have direct access to properties including livestock, they are easily able to increase their shares in land by selling their livestock and buy more land. Some men are even buying land in different places and even relocate their livestock in fear of losing them from death as grazing land becomes marginal. Besides, the poor ones are increasingly forced by circumstances to either join a paid labor market by working as herdsmen for the wealthier kinsmen, or even migrate to the cities such as Morogoro in search for a paid job as watchmen, hairdressing, or even vending herbal medicines. Women who are left to head the households, on the other hand are increasingly forced to move to cities and sell milk, work as housemaids and even join prostitution. These effects all together become much more inconvenient for women to access livelihood resources which is often through their relationship with men as elaborated in the following interview:

Although land in our Maasai community is still held and used communally, some peculiar things have started to emerge. Some Maasai communities, especially the wealthier categories of men are increasingly accumulating large portions of communal village land for their individual use and no-one, not even the elders, are able to question this or stop them from accumulating land, because they are rich and have larger herds of cattle than the rest of the community. The poorer ones increasingly find themselves locked in smaller areas, which cannot even suffice to graze their cattle. Those who suffer most are the women, particularly the women-headed households because they do not have the capacity to negotiate and acquire land as well. How can they buy land when they do not have livestock? And even when they are left with them, they are not by traditions allowed to decide on their own to sell them.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Interview with an elderly woman in Parakuyo sub-village of Kilosa, October 18th, 2010

During the FGD held in Twatwatwa and Mabwegere village, the women confirmed that, increasingly grazing land in their village areas is becoming smaller due to the rate within land grab and fencing by their fellow pastoralists is becoming dominant. As consequence, the poor majority who are also women have been left with marginal lands and even forced to relocate their cattle or sale particularly during prolonged dry seasons. Likewise, the women also voiced their concerns that some of their fellow women are increasingly subjected into more vulnerable situations, as they are increasingly engaging in prostitution.¹¹⁶

Analysis of class emergence among the Maasai suggests the emergence of new means of status and power acquisition among pastoralist communities which increase, richer and elite classes who are able to wield more power by grabbing commonly used land for their individual use and advantage. These processes obstruct mobility, heighten vulnerability to bad weather conditions [such as drought and floods], threaten the possibility of sustainable livestock management and weaken socio-cultural livelihoods of the Maasai pastoralists. Consequently leaving women who traditionally own nothing for their own selves, find wielding less power and left with very marginal lands and/or losing it altogether.

The above issue of classes and economic differentiation among pastoral Maasai in Kilosa corroborate previous studies in east African region by Talle (1988) and Fratkin (1998; 2001). The authors (Fratkin, 2001) observed the growth of increasing insecurity over access to common resources due to emergence of the haves and the have-nots among these pastoralists who are increasingly integrated into market economy. However, unlike Fratkin (2001) who observed these cases to be dominant in the pastoral areas of Kajiado district of Kenya and Boran, Rendile located close to urban markets, the case of Kilosa is unique and interesting. Classes are also emerging among the most remotely located pastoral villages such as Kiduhi pastoral village. It was possible to observe and hear from the women in the course of interviews and focus group discussion when

¹¹⁶ FGD with women held in Mabwegere and Twatwatwa village, September 23rd, 2012

fieldwork visits were conducted. Men also confirm to this situation during the FGDs held in Kiduhi and Ngaiti-sub-village. Recalling one of the responses in Ngaiti sub-village, an elder voiced that ‘we are forced to pay for the pastures, water before we can feed our herds because some of the areas have been taken by investors, and amongst them are pastoral Maasai’¹¹⁷. Women participants of the FGD also concurred.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined land reforms, and the manner in which they have affected the livelihood position of the pastoralist women in Kilosa district. Through interviews, FGDs, and observations I found that, while land reforms have managed to provide formal laws and regulations that support equal rights to land for women with regard to access to land and secure tenure (through registration of joint rights and marital property laws), customary law and traditional practice still prevents smooth applications of these provisions to Maasai women of Kilosa. The question of land reform has largely been to assist the outsiders [investors] in getting the insider [local communities like Maasai pastoralists] land. Land reforms combined with poor and unjust procedures of the reforms still leave the pastoralists more vulnerable to appropriation by governments and private interests. This scenario stems from the unclear and contradictory nature of the existing laws governing land and ill-conceived narratives regarding pastoralism that have contributed to a policy which discriminates against their livelihood system.

In this scenario, the hardest hit are Maasai pastoral women who entered into “market regulated” mechanism of land access without independent access to neither land nor economic muscles for negotiation in the markets, nor even the financial resources that are the most important in that kind of market economy. They rather enter with a complete dependency on men to access land resources. Thus, the whole process works to their disadvantage despite wider opportunities created by these reforms [such as the

¹¹⁷ Mzee Matinde, Ngaiti-sub village, October 3, 2012

presence of legislations which have adequately grants bunch of women rights to access, own and control land in similar weight with men e.g. Section 3 (2) of both LA and VLA, 1999, and the right to participate in decision making organs regarding land matters as per Section 60 of the VLA, 1999]. Furthermore the reforms ignored the need to reconcile customary institutions which also mediate women's access to and use of land and land resources, ultimately (to borrow the phrase from Hall et al., 2012) "licensing the exclusion" of women from land resources. In addition, as I indicated in this chapter, the disadvantaged position of women in relation to land was directly contributed by the legislative reforms that overlooked and misconceived pastoral land use systems from the colonial era to this date. Indigenous land tenure system under customary institutions also contributed to their insecure position. I therefore argue that, land privatization and individualisation have led into increase land concentration and landlessness to pastoral Maasai women.

Changing statutory land laws alone without considering the patriarchal socio-economic norms and values in pastoral setting does not automatically guarantee tenure security among the pastoral women in Tanzania, Kilosa in particular. The manipulation of traditional customs and practices that acts as a constraint to women from making use of the wider opportunities in accessing and or use of land is imperative. As Quisumburg et al (2003) noted in the literature, what often determines fallback positions and options of women in reality is not what the legal law states, but the customary law, or local interpretations of statutory law (Quisumburg, Payongayong, Aidoo, and Otsuka, 2003). In this case, I concur with Vlassenroot and Huggins (2005) conclusion that, for secure land reforms, the structures – political, economic, and social through which land access is mediated, must also be reformed.

Chapter Four

Land Conflicts Implications in Pastoral Societies: A Gendered Perspective

4.1 Introduction

In the past two to three decades, conflicts, specifically over land use have taken central stage in literature because of growing cases in the Greater Horn of Africa, including Tanzania (Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2004; Vlassenroot and Huggins, 2005; Deininger and Castagnini, 2006; Deininger and Castagnini, 2006; Mkutu K. A., 2006; Urmilla, 2010). Compared to the rest of the countries in the horn like Ethiopia, land conflicts are much more even worse in Tanzania: the once well- renowned 'heaven of peace' nation in the entire sub-Saharan Africa (Odgaard, 2003; 2006; John, 2011; Fratkin, 2014). Nearly over 1000 land-based conflicts are reported to be occurring in rural and urban areas of Tanzania on an annual basis between June and December¹¹⁸ (Makwarimba and Ngowi, 2012).

These conflicts have different characteristics and there are different types of conflict around land. Conflicts over land could be inter-communal, inter-pastoral, local communities and investors, and local community and the state (Hussein, Sumberg and Seddon, 1999; Urmilla, 2010). Inter-ethnic or inter-communal (between pastoralists and local farmers)- often vivid in areas where both farming and livestock keeping are practiced; often triggered by identity claims, boundary disputes on lands (for irrigating plants versus livestock watering) and land space competition for grazing versus farming (Maganga, Odgaard and Sjaastad, 2007; Shao, 2008; Benjaminsen, Maganga and Abdallah, 2009).

The inter-pastoral conflicts between and among herders, and this is often triggered by competition over grazing land and water, as well as acts of cattle looting and raiding (Meier, Bond, and Bond, 2007; Mulugeta and Hagmann, 2008; Witsenberg and Wario, 2009; Schilling, Opiyo and Scheffran, 2012). Besides these conflicts with a socio-economic and ethnic dimension, there are also conflicts between local communities and investors (both foreign and local investors) – on commercial farming, ranching and

¹¹⁸ This is a period where most pastoralists move from one area to another in search for pasture and water for their livestock, as these resources are limited during this time.

mining projects (Kombe, 2010; Mwikwabe, 2011; Yekoye, 2011; Makwarimba and Ngowi, 2012; Fratkin, 2014).

The community and state conflicts are linked to state actions over conservation and commercial development projects, often on behalf of one group of resource users against another group of resource users (Hussein, Sumberg and Seddon, 1999; Fratkin, 2014). Very often, this form of conflict involves forced evictions, which result in severe hardship to the groups, including damage of livelihoods to such an extent that it becomes difficult for the victims to sustain themselves.

A large literature has described varying consequences or impacts of land – related conflicts on humankind. These impacts range from destruction and loss of properties and homes, food and crops, human displacement, sexual and physical abuse, to loss of lives, family members and acts of random violence (Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2004; Vlassenroot and Huggins, 2005; Maganga, Odgaard and Sjaastad, 2007; Shao, 2008; Benjaminsen, Maganga and Abdallah, 2009). These impacts are however differently felt by various land user groups earlier noted in this section such as farmers and pastoralists whose livelihoods directly or indirectly depend on land and land resources. Among the pastoral communities, livestock (cattle in particular) hold central value and the basis of livelihood to the pastoral social and political institutions (Mkutu, 2001; Kandagor, 2005) whose livelihoods are traditionally dictated by the upkeep and size of their herds, vast land for pasturing, and long-distance movement over different scales depending on climatic conditions (Flintan, 2011; Fratkin, 2014).

Such livelihood mechanisms constitute a basis of complex interaction with other land users and place pastoralism at the edge of impacts of and use conflicts, not to mention the already experienced pressure of the vagaries of protracted drought, diseases, not to mention political marginalization (Krätli and Swift, 2001; Mkutu K. , 2013; Fratkin, 2014; Leff, 2009). Vast literature has documented that, the overall impacts of these conflicts are in different ways felt by men and women (Byrne, 1996; Mkutu K. A., 2008; Koch, 2008; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Young and Sing'Oei, 2011; Diaz, 2001; Tadesse, Tesfaye, and Beyene, 2010; Kandagor, 2005): because of certain gender specific roles in

pastoral societies. However, literature rarely deals with the gender differentiated impacts of such loss. Isinika and Mutabazi (2010) in their work on Wabena and Wasukuma ethnic group note gender blindness in literature and studies on conflict impacts is discussed and confirmed. Maganga et al (2007) and Benjaminsen et al (2009) which were conducted in Kilosa district, land use conflicts are well documented and effects such as loss of lives and properties like livestock, forced displacements were also observed. However, the gender-differentiated aspect is not provided.

Men are defined as owners of property, decision makers and heads of household. Women on the other hand are defined as default household and food managers, in charge of childcare, household chores like cleaning, cooking, health care and care of elderly people. Such role ascriptions and construction of women as 'caregivers', 'mothers' and 'guardians' of the household members are affected by conflict, and render women unable to freely flee from conflicts (Koch, 2008). As consequent, women fail to protect themselves and their children; thus suffer directly and indirectly from conflict impacts in different ways (Byrne, 1996). Patt, Daze, and Suarez (2009) note that, directly, women as caregivers and mothers often tend to prioritize family and household needs than theirs, situations that expose women's vulnerability rape and abduction. Byrne (1996) and Mkutu (2008) confirm that unlike men, women suffer differently during conflict by being subjected to rape, abduction and other forms sexual violence.

These circumstances eventually weaken families and break down the social fabric of communities and societies, as some women who face abuse decide to leave or abandon their families and homes due to feeling shame (Koch, 2008). In contrast, men are also said to be victims of rape during conflict, though to an unknown degree due to the stigma involved (Koch, 2008). However, other writers still insist that whenever conflicts occur, women are victims as they suffer severe forms of abuse and assault relative to men (Mwagiru, 1997; Tadesse, Tesfaye and Beyene, 2010; Urmilla, 2010).

Land conflicts (including violent ones) generate human displacement; hinder mobile access to resources (pasture, water, markets and social networks). In the same vein,

these conflicts also produce loss of productive human assets (men and boys) through deaths or involvement in disputes, and loss of livestock (from raiding and death (Hussein, Sumberg, and Seddon, 1999; Nori, Switzer, and Crawford, 2005; Mkutu K. A., 2006; Elhadary and Samet, 2011). Such impacts have direct consequences on women by virtue of their specific gender roles and responsibilities. Women as default home managers for instance, deaths of husbands and sons reduce the number of productive human assets traditionally in charge of herding, family protections, and decision - making (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). This may directly alter or change the already established family and gender roles of men and women and increase women's workload on top of their demanding fulltime workload of family provisioning.

Limited mobility affects the entire pastoral community, but literature indicates gendered impacts on population (Eneyew and Mengistu, 2013). Very often, women in arid and semi-arid areas experience hardships in fetching medicinal plants, firewood, and water for watering homestead kept livestock, dish and clothes. In conflict situations, women in fear of the enemies are forced to trek longer distances, and take risky routes to access water, firewood, and other related resources (Young and Sing'Oei, 2011; Nkedianye, et al., 2011).

Moreover, property loss such as livestock (from raiding, general looting or deaths), stored cereals, and milk, impacts on food production and the capacity to meet their basic food needs. However, the impact this has on the population is also gendered (Young and Sing'Oei, 2011). Women are said to suffer directly as food managers, roles that mostly depend on milk production by either forced to skip meals and let others eat first, or watch their malnourished children die in worse case situations (Mushi 2013). Unlike women, men easily abandon their families including their wives, and migrate to the cities in search of alternative niche like paid jobs (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003; Munishi, 2013). Furthermore, women are also subjected to additional workloads within and outside the home as they bear more brunt of forced displacement, disrupted livelihoods, and disrupted access to clean water and land (Crisp, 1999; Cohen, 2003). For instance, when displacements occur, women are traditionally required to build and rebuild houses, fetch water and fuel wood unlike men (Byrne, 1996; El Jack, 2002;

Dwyer and Cagoco-Guiam, 2012). Such existing gender differential roles are likely to create differential gender impacts between women and men in conflict situation, an argument that is also supported by Diaz (2001).

Literature also suggests that conflicts generate a strong and an ever-present experience of insecurity which fallouts in ineffective utilization of resources, disruption of traditional resource management systems, and disruption of contacts between family structures and compositions, and closure of markets (Schilling, Opiyo, and Scheffran, 2012).

Such consequences indirectly impacts on women by melting and or breaking down the traditional social networks and structures that protect women's interests including use of pastureland, water in performing their gender roles (Young and Sing'Oei, 2011). This breakdown directly hit on women specific gender roles and responsibilities in comparison to men by restricting their secondary rights of access to the above resources they need as default home managers (El Jack, 2002).

Diminishing access to livestock curtails the exchange and reciprocal networks that traditionally facilitated the exchange of productive resources and food (Potkanski, 1994; Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003). Childless women and women from households with limited number of cattle are particularly disadvantaged as a result of the breakdown of these traditional redistributive mechanisms (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003). Similarly, with markets closure, women are said to have restricted sell of milk and milk products and other items they produce like charcoal and beads. These in turn affect their sources of income from dairy products including the ability to buy household needs including food.

Unlike other rural based societies, women in pastoral societies are strongly subjected to a patriarchal system where men dominate women in almost all spheres of life (Mamo, 2007; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Eneyew and Mengistu, 2013; Misafi, 2014). Thus, in conflict situation, pastoral Maasai women are likely to receive the hardest end of conflict, as social networks are disrupted, destroyed, and changes in family structures and composition occurs (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Eneyew and Mengistu, 2013).

Although the subject of women and conflict is increasingly the subject of study, there is insufficient detailed research into specific pastoral societies like the Maasai. This work sets out to show, through Kilosa case, how conflict impacts pastoral societies and women in particular, through interacting with existing structures and power imbalances.

Many authors have focused on conflict in pastoral societies (Van Donge, 1993; Ojalammi, 2006; Maganga, Odgaard, and Sjaastad, 2007; Shao, 2008; Benjaminsen, Maganga, and Abdallah, 2009; King, 2013), and gender power imbalances over land use issues (Talle, 1988; Mitzlaff, 1988; Hodgson, 1999; 2000; Joekes and Pointing, 1991). However, there is little which draws these issues together using detailed empirical observations of the issues from gendered perspective. For instance, Benjaminsen et al. (2009) observes that, local conflict in the Kilosa District in Tanzania, which occurred on 8 December 2000 tragically, culminated in the loss of lives, properties, and some men including the elders being arrested. However, they did not show the manner in which loss of lives and properties and arrest of men (who are the sole provider of everything including decisions over disposition of livestock) for instance impacts on the productive roles played by women. Likewise, they did not show how gendered power relations are affected and configured by conflicts thus leaving women issues and the children they look after insufficiently addressed.

The work of Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) and somehow that of Young and Sing'Oei (2011) did examine the relationship between gender power imbalances and land use conflicts, but these works are not methodologically ethnographic. Similarly, few existing authors (Hebo, 2006; Mkutu, 2008) wrote on pastoral women and land conflict issues in another society, but they have not looked on the land conflict issues in the pastoral Maasai in Tanzania. This work sets out to show, through the Kilosa case, how conflict impacts pastoral Maasai societies and Maasai women in particular, through interacting with existing structures and power imbalances.

The analysis presented in this chapter is using a gender lens, a crucial variable in resource access and conflicts, yet often missing from conflict analysis frameworks,

particularly in pastoral areas. The use of gender into land use conflict analysis provides a more nuanced and effective mechanism in understanding conflict dynamics and gendered nature of impact of conflict (Mkutu, 2008; Nelson, 2008). To operationalize this study, the following sub-questions were used to guide to obtain information relevant in this chapter. What forms of land conflicts exist in Kilosa? ; Are there any implications of these conflicts on women and or gender roles/ relations? In the subsequent sections, I present the different patterns of land use conflicts in Kilosa, before examining their specific gendered impacts. This research is based on an extensive fieldwork I conducted at different stages in Kilosa district, Tanzania between October 2010 and March 2014.¹¹⁹ The research approach was purely qualitative (Patton, 2002, pp.39-40) where a detailed ethnographic-inspired study (Redding-Jones, 2005, p.72) on conflicts over land and its consequences on gender relations, women in particular was conducted and complemented by several interview, focus group discussions and reviews of secondary sources. More detailed information about the methodology is provided in chapter 2 of this thesis.

From this research, a general argument derived is that, land conflicts in Tanzania seem to be partly triggered by the pluralistic and contradictory nature of the land laws, which have accelerated inequalities in access to, and control of land;¹²⁰ and it is a double blow for pastoral women who are disadvantaged on both fronts. As pastoralists, women are victims of socio-economic and political marginalization, and as women they suffer inequalities in accessing resources including land.

¹¹⁹ Given the nature of the Mixed PhD scholarship programme, which provides a researcher with a split time to spend between the research sites and University site, fieldwork plans were also split to accommodate the sandwich schedule. In total, approximately 20 months were spent in the field.

¹²⁰ The issue of land and laws in Tanzania is extensively discussed in chapter 3 of this thesis.

4.2 Patterns of Land Use Conflict in Kilosa

It is important to present different patterns of land conflicts existing in Kilosa, as a background to discussing the specific gendered impacts. This section also presents the attempt by the state to mitigate the conflict through Operation Kilosa (OKI), because it has had similar impacts on communities as have the conflicts themselves. Odgaard (2003) argues that land conflict patterns include land struggles between group of pastoralists and the state; disputes between villages over village boundaries; disputes between farmers and the pastoralists; individual farmers against each other and/ or the village government; land disputes between family and clan members. Noted early in section 4.0 of this chapter are the different forms (patterns) of conflict around land in the greater horn of Africa that exists in literature. These conflicts over land use are classified into four main categories (Hussein, 1998; Hussein et al., 1999; Elhadary and Samat, 2011; Young and Sing'Oei, 2011, Makwarimba and Ngowi, 2013; Fratkin, 2014): local communities and investors conflicts (mainly on commercial farming, ranching, as well as in mining projects), inter-ethnic land conflicts (mainly between farmers or agro-pastoralists and pastoralists; and this is over traditionally held land and land resources like water. Other forms also include inter-pastoral conflicts (mainly over water, grazing land, and cattle, and the last one is community and the state conflicts, over conservation and investment projects.

These patterns of conflicts over land which scholars like Hussein et al (1999) and Young and Sing'Oei (2011) identified to be evident in the arid and semi-arid areas of Africa including East Africa; where pastoralists (herders) subsists. The decision to choose these categories as background information to analyse the patterns of conflicts over land in Kilosa is based on two reasons. One, Kilosa is partly semi-arid and pastoral society such as Maasai, Barbaigs, Gogos, Sukuma are also found. The second reason is based on the presence of different land user groups (investors and farmers), which pastoral groups often interact with due to their mobility nature. These characteristics are in some ways similar to those analysed by the above noted authors. In view of the above reasons, I found the above categories useful to analysis of patterns of conflicts

over land that are found in Kilosa in this section, and later establish their gendered impacts in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

4.2.1 Pastoralists and Farmers Conflicts: Mabwegere Case Study

Kilosa is prone to various kinds of conflicts, which have been endemic and dominant in the region. These conflicts are most often land based (pasture or water). Between 1955 and 2013 there have been nine reported major conflicts between Maasai pastoralists and farmers (agriculturalists)¹²¹ leading to loss of properties, lives, and displacements (See Appendix 1).

One such conflict occurred in October 2008 as a result of fight over right to use land (pasture) between pastoral Maasai located in Mabwegere village and farmers of Kikenge sub-village located in Mambegwa village. This conflict began with an individual clash between a farmer and a pastoral Maasai to a violent communal one. “In that October, the deceased was on his way to the river with his herd of livestock. The deceased met the farmer (from Kikenge) clearing his fields while burning the grasses before he could farm. The late questioned the farmer as to why he was burning the grasses, and blamed him that he was degrading the land and deny their livestock the right of having food. On such reasons, the deceased decided to arrest the farmer with intention of bringing him to the village government. This process was highly resisted by the farmer, a situation that pushed the farmer to pull his shotgun and shot dead the pastoralist on the spot”.¹²² Following this incident, a violent and brutal communal clash emerged between the pastoral Maasai communities of Mabwegere and farmers of Mambegwa. Eight people were reported dead, several houses set ablaze, with several hectares with crops destroyed; 832 people were internally displaced majority being

¹²¹ Includes all non-Maasai pastoralists who are practicing crop-farming activities in Kilosa. Pastoralists on the other hand in this study refer to Maasai pastoralists whose main livelihood system is livestock keeping. Typical Maasai pastoralists are nomads (Misafi, 2014).

¹²² Interview with the village chairperson, Mabwegere village, 21st October, 2010

women and children taking refuge in neighboring villages and thousands of cattle stolen.¹²³

A further violent row erupted in Mabwegere in January 2013 when farmers attacked pastoralist settlements, resulting in death of a pastoralist and 10 injured, loss of Maasai properties including a Toyota Land cruiser and displacements [Picture 7]. Farmers blocked the Morogoro-Dodoma Highway with logs and woods. In this situation, traffics were held for nearly five hours, forcing police to intervene using tear gas before they could remove the roadblocks [Picture 8].

¹²³ Kilosa District Council (2010) 'proposal document for conflict resolution in the Kilosa district



Picture 6: Farming communities of Dumila joining hands to destroy Maasai truck during conflict



Picture 7: Security officials removing roadblocks placed by farmers on the Morogoro-Dodoma Highway

Mobility during the dry season when fodder and water are inadequate commonly provokes conflicts. Drought or man-made factors such as irrigation play a part here. Thus pastoralists and agro-pastoralists from Kilosa, and other parts such as Kilombero, Mvomero, Iringa, Singida, and Kilindi districts converge upon Kilosa's water sources, particularly the valleys (see map 1 in figure 2). However, these patterns of mobility are not regulated and controlled by the respective authorities; but rather, they are unregulated and subject to corrupt agreements with local administrators and security. The resource competition for humans and animals is then a source of conflict, and cattle may trample the rice and vegetable fields.

Livestock numbers are often said to be increasing, thereby causing conflict. Other

evidence, however, suggests that livestock population has not been increasing overall, but rather is fluctuating (See figure 3). The fluctuation may be determined by drought, livestock disease (such as tsetse flies) and conflict or raiding.¹²⁴ Herd splitting and migration (traditional methods of resource management by pastoralists) also contribute to an apparent fluctuation in livestock population.

4.2.2 Pastoralists and the National Park: Ngaiti Case Study

Mikumi National Park is another adversary for the Kilosa pastoralists. The park is 'reserved land', covering more than one third (3,230 square kilometers) of the total land area of Kilosa district (KDC, 2010), with plenty of water throughout the year. Very strict regulations under the 2009 Wildlife Conservation Act number 5 restrict entry, grazing (Section 20) and crop cultivation (Section 21), and use of park resources like water unless permitted. Banning of cultivation and livestock grazing in the park areas by the 2009 law and the policy has had dire implications on the livelihood and grazing traditions to local communities, particularly pastoral Maasai. Commonly involved communities are those residing in Ngaiti-Luhoza, pastoral sub-village located in Tindiga ward of Kilosa district, which enter the wetland areas of the park watered by the Luhoza and Mhombo rivers during the dry season, particularly between August and October.

Herders may find their cattle confiscated or killed by wardens, or be required to pay fine. One Maasai pastoralist, Pastor Ibrahim Oloishuro lost cattle to Mikumi game wardens that claimed to have found grazing in the park. Two cattle were shot dead [see picture 9] and several others injured.¹²⁵ Wardens have even been reported to shoot and injured or even kill pastoralists who may be minors. Thus conflicts erupt as pastoralists decide to organize a violent protest against the park wardens. For instance, between

¹²⁴ Cattle raiding is common across the country including Morogoro region. Between 2005-2008, a total number of 6,199 cattle were stolen, and only 1,485 were recovered (Ministry of livestock development and fisheries, 2008).

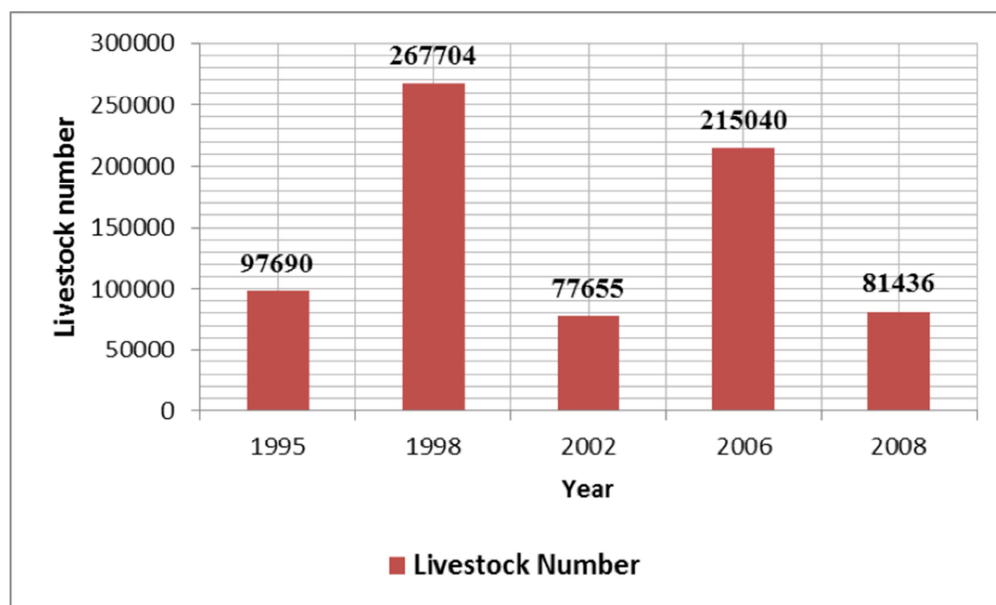
¹²⁵ Interview with the sub-village chairperson of Ngaiti sub-village, 28th August, 2013

2010 and 2012, similar conflicts resulted into several people being injured, loss of lives, and loss of nearly 204 livestock worth 219 million Tanzania shillings [Euro 99,000], properties of Maasai pastoralists of Ngaiti- Luhoza sub village in Kilosa. ¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Interview with the sub-village chairperson of Ngaiti-Luhoza sub village, 28th August, 2013



Figure 3: Livestock trend in Kilosa district (URT, 2010; KDC, 2010)



Conflicts in wet seasons may occur where areas have been cultivated in a haphazard manner, interfering with livestock routes. Thus pastoralists are forced to let their livestock pass through farmers' fields, where they trample and eat the crops. In November 2, 2010, in Mabwegere village, the investor, due to an earlier encroachment

of his land, seized nearly 1000 cattle, belonging to a Maasai pastoralist. A violent conflict ensued, in which cattle were lost and a warrior injured.¹²⁷

The two groups (pastoralists and farmers) at times intentionally provoke conflicts. Farmers may farm in areas reserved as dry season grazing zones “pasturelands”. Pastoralists describe a similar problem during the harvesting time as farmers enter into a contract with herders to allow their cattle to graze the leftover maize stalks. But the cattle sometimes stray onto areas, which still have crops, particularly those of younger herders who cannot control them. Conflict over demands for compensation ensues, and it is not easy to follow a legal process because the herders are minors. District security officials noted that pastoralists use this matter to their advantage to avoid prosecution.¹²⁸ Corruption is another complicating factor in pastoralist-farmers conflicts. Farmers are of the claim that Maasai pastoralists often offer bribes to some unethical security officials and even to employees at different levels of the district, thereby forcing farmers to dispense with the formal the formal procedures and take justice into their own hands.¹²⁹

Both pastoralists and farmers have formed illegal paramilitaries to protect their interests, as response to weak law enforcement by the state. While the Maasai pastoralists used their traditional warriors also known as “*morans-ilmurrans*”¹³⁰ in Maasai language, the farmers responded by forming their own militia group known as

¹²⁷ Interview with the Ngaiti sub-village chairperson, October 23rd, 2010

¹²⁸ Focus group discussion with the security officials at the Kilosa district October 19th, 2010

¹²⁹ Several interviews with district and village officials, Kilosa, October, 2010

¹³⁰ This is a group composed of young men aged between 20 to 25 years of age. The key role of Ilmurran is to protect people and livestock from raiders, and raiding animals, searching for new pastures and watering points for livestock in times of drought, tracking down lost or raided livestock, taking part in wars and raiding cattle to expand their herd size (Talle, 1988; Hodgson, 2004).

UJAKI¹³¹ from among the farming communities of Mambegwa, Kidete, Msovero and Mkumbwe villages who are basically Kaguru by their ethnic tribe in the district. The UJAKI used poisonous arrows, bows, and machetes while the Maasai used their traditional weapons, i.e., swords, clubs, daggers, spears, and sticks. Both sides rely on mystical forces led by spiritual leaders. The two sides came together in the deadly conflict in 2000 in Rujewa-Mbuyuni, and later in 2008 in Mabwegere village.

Security officials noted that UJAKI has been banned from operating in the district and some group members were also arrested and remanded.¹³² However, UJAKI or an offshoot may re-emerge, because its mode of operation and belief systems strongly resemble that of an earlier movement known as Umwano, formed from among the Kaguru people in the 18th and 19th century who battled against the Baraguyu (Iparakuyo Maasai) in Kilosa (Beidelman, 2012).

Picture 8: Two dead bulls transported for sales after being shot by the game wardens

4.2.3 Pastoralists and Investors: Ngaiti Case Study

Conflicts between communities including pastoralists and investors are increasingly gaining pace in Kilosa.¹³³ These conflicts are state related in some cases, indirectly linked to the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of the 1980s and its effects to the economy through liberalization and investment regulations.¹³⁴ Tanzania like many other African countries was subjected to SAPs imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in the early 1980s and adopted the liberalized market

¹³¹ This is an acronym that stands for Ulinzi wa Jadi Kilosa. It is a vigilante paramilitary group composed of young men who are farmers (none-pastoralists), and is mainly composed of Kaguru tribe in Kilosa

¹³² FGDs with the security officials, Kilosa District, October 19th, 2010

¹³³ Personal observations during field work, October, 2010 and 2012

¹³⁴ Tanzania Investment Act No. 26 of 1997

economy. In this process, land was also liberalized. The government enacted the Tanzania Investment Act No. 26 of 1995 and established the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC), a body now responsible for granting rights of land to foreign investors.

One such area increasingly under the pressure of investment is the agriculture sector. Since 1990s, there has been a stampede for land due to influx of local and foreign investors interested in commercial farming and ranching. Supporting this land rush is the Agriculture First policy (2009) and other policies that aim at large-scale agricultural investments¹³⁵ in the region at the expense of pastoralism as noted early in chapter 3. The investment failed to benefit the community thus leading into investor-community conflicts.

Fencing by the investor may block stock routes, and water sources that the Maasai traditionally use, forcing herders to encroach or trespass with their stocks in order to access to dry season pasture and water. This action often leads into conflicts with the investor. Maasai pastoralists and local investors in Ngaiti- Luhoza, a sub -village in Malangali village, Mabwerebwere ward of Kilosa are frequently in conflict; in October and November 2010, a series of violent conflicts erupted in Ngaiti/Luhoza sub-village between pastoral Maasai communities and a local Sukuma investor.

4.2.4 Pastoralists and the State: Operation Kilosa (OKI)

In its attempt to mitigate the pastoral–farmer conflicts in the district, the government made the decision to carry out the so-called ‘Operation Kilosa’ (OKI) between January and March 2009. The operation was carried out following an eviction order and a letter issued by the Kilosa District Executive Director on the 19th November, 2008, addressing all Division, Ward, and Villages Executive officers in the district¹³⁶ [See appendix 2 of

¹³⁵ Increasingly in Tanzania, large-scale land acquisition for commercial farming is evident in: Biofuel production, food production, and agro-forest industries (Chachage and Baha, 2010).

¹³⁶ A letter from the Kilosa district Executive Director to all ward executive officers of Kilosa district dated 19th November 2008 with reference number KDC/CL.2/4/3.

this thesis for the letter] with a list of government intentions to end conflicts involving pastoralists and farmers. The letter among other things demanded the following: first, that respective ward and village officials should collect and prepare statistics and details of pastoralists who migrated into their areas without following proper migration procedures. The report of the statistics should further be discussed in their respective village, ward and district authorities' meetings. Second, pastoralists who had illegally settled in the district should vacate those areas with their livestock by 10th December 2008 or otherwise face legal action. The letter also instructed the ward officials to build special confinements¹³⁷ that confiscated cattle will be kept during the operation. Respective ward and village leaders were also instructed to inform and educate their respective villagers including pastoralists about this warning, through their formal village meetings.

In the same vein, the office of the Kilosa District Commissioner also issued the eviction order. The order notified Kilosa residents its aim to evict Maasai pastoralists who had 'invaded' farmers' areas and farmers who had invaded pastoralists' villages.¹³⁸ The eviction order also stipulated that, all illegal immigrants should vacate the areas with their livestock, and a failure to abide to the notice will result to legal actions including confiscation of livestock.

On the 29th January 2009, the operation suddenly began.]. Livestock [cattle, goats and sheep] were confiscated and kept in special confinements, and ordered to be transferred in trucks to the Pugu cattle market in Dares Salaam, located more than 300 Kilometers away from Kilosa. The transport fees for the arranged trucks were between Tanzania Shillings 600,000 to 8,000,000 per trip, an expense to be incurred by respective owners of the stocks. Moreover, it has failed to end pastoral-farmer conflicts in Kilosa. Some were ordered to move to Lindi, several Kilometers from Kilosa district.

¹³⁷ This exercise was to begin within 14 days after the date in which the letter was issued (i.e. 14 days from 19th November, 2008)

¹³⁸ Interview with District Livestock officer, Kilosa, 15th February, 2011

4.3 Gendered Impacts of Conflicts

After examining patterns of conflict in Kilosa, this section investigates their impacts, specifically from a gendered perspective. It demonstrates how land conflicts have affected the secondary use of land by women, endangered women to rapes and other violence, increased women's workload and effected a change in gender roles.

4.3.1 Access to Resources

Chapter 3 described the communal land tenure system amongst the Maasai, in which a woman has certain land access rights through their husbands and fathers. By contrast, as previously noted, legal rights afforded by the state allow for land titling in women's names, but this generally does not improve the lot of pastoral Maasai women who do not know or cannot access these benefits.

Women are highly dependent upon land for water and firewood, fruits, herbs and materials for building and handcrafts, a dependence, which is severely disrupted by land conflict. When there is displacement of families, women are disconnected from their male relatives and husbands, and this affects their use of land. For instance, the aforesaid conflict between pastoralists (Mabwegere) and farmers (Mambegwa), which occurred in October 2008, women, revealed to have gone through a traumatizing experience. They note to have been displaced from their families for couple of weeks, lost their kitchen utensils and several bags of maize, as well as loss of their family members from death. They also noted to spend their nights in the bush and some of their relative homes following their houses being set ablaze by paramilitary group of the farmers.¹³⁹ Mama Theresia Mapindu, one of the victims concurred: We fled our homes in fear of the attack by the farmers. When we returned home, we found some of our bomas demolished and others burnt to ashes. Our food store was also empty! We

¹³⁹ Focus group discussions with women in Mabwegere, October 10th, 2011

spend several weeks unable to fetch firewood and water from Kikenge area in fear of the farmers who had already settled in that area.¹⁴⁰

Likewise, conflicts involving pastoralists and investors have been affecting men and women disproportionately. In Ngaiti/ Luhoza, sub-Village in Malangali Village at Mabwerebwere Ward of Kilosa District; for instance, between 17th October and 2nd November 2010, series of violent conflicts erupted in Ngaiti/Luhoza sub-village between Maasai pastoralists and a local Sukuma investor, had a specific gendered impact as interviews noted:

Conflicts with the farmers and investors have always affected our lives. When we came to Mabwegere many years ago, we decided to engage in cultivation on top of livestock keeping. With the help of the two tractors, which my husband owned, we would grow maize, paddy rice, and never worried about food to feed the entire household.¹⁴¹ However, life suddenly changed one morning in 2008, when a group of UJAKI¹⁴² stormed into our compounds and set our houses ablaze [Picture 11]. We lost our livestock, our crops were destroyed and some were even uprooted. This was a grave setback for most of us women who have spent time to plant the crops and who have to struggle to find food for the family. We also lost several bags of maize and one of our tractors was damaged. Men at that time had already abandoned the houses and fled into bushes. We also had to run with our children. Because of this loophole, farmers decided to grab part of our land and we do not have enough land to grow food, graze our livestock and even pass with the cattle to the water points. We women we have suffered because we

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Mama Theresia, October 10th, 2011

¹⁴¹ This is Mzee Machau's household which has 54 grandchildren, 8 wives and 30 children including our husband

¹⁴² UJAKI (Ulinzi wa Jadi Kilosa) is the name for the militia group that belongs to the farming communities in Kilosa. More explanation of its operation is covered in the coming section

have to walk long distances now to look for water, fuel wood in addition to fertile land to grow food.¹⁴³

An elderly pastoralist woman, an eyewitness of the 2008 conflict in Mabwegere gave her story

On that morning in 2008, I was on my way home from collecting water. I saw a group of men from a distance. I was very much afraid and terrified, I had to hide myself from them and still watch their actions. From their appearance I could tell they were the UJAKI. They were fully armed with machetes, swords and their face painted black. One of them, I think the leader was holding a big pot; I could hear him speaking words which I could not understand. After a few minutes, he broke the pot on the ground and said 'tuvuke sasa' (let's cross now). Immediately, they all stormed into our village, and started destroying houses, beating people, especially women and children, because at that time, men had already disappeared into the bush. People started to run and hide. As I was trying to run into our house, one of the UJAKI got hold of me and ordered me to lie down. Before I could do what he had asked me to, he slapped me with his machete and tear off my clothes. I was left naked in front of them. They burned our houses, took our livestock, food, and even abused some women. The security officials did not respond immediately to this attack. It was on I think the 2nd or 4th day when our warriors decided to respond and fight them back. For couple of days I could not see my children, and I didn't know their whereabouts; I thought they were kidnapped or killed by UJAKI. Some of our fellow women were raped and severely beaten and wounded.¹⁴⁴

This was also confirmed during an interview with the village chairperson:

¹⁴³ Interview with a pastoralist woman in Mabwegere village, October 22nd, 2012

¹⁴⁴ Interview with an elderly pastoralist woman, Mabwegere village, 21st October, 2010

In November 27, 2008, UJAKI stormed into our village and set nearly 70 of our houses and took 1,599 cattle, 73 sheep and 886 goats. They also got away with people's properties including several bags of maize from different households amounting to nearly 60 bags. Many families were displaced as they had to run from their homes, and women were abused in the sense of being beaten, wounded and raped! Children had to survive without their food, their mothers as some of them ran in their own way to save their lives. It was one of the very terrible incidences to have experienced¹⁴⁵

Since women and children were usually left at home and often unarmed, they were unable to defend and protect themselves against the UJAKI, and as consequent, they endured the brunt of local militias operations in comparison with men. This is also supported by the arguments raised by Byrne (1996) and Baden (1997) that in conflict situations women suffer the economic, social and psychological effects. This was also observed by Tadesse *et al*; (2010) who established in Eastern Ethiopia that due to their status, women suffer from conflicts as they are caught in a vicious paradox as victims of conflicts, and at the same time often powerless to defend themselves. In this case, pastoralist women bear the brunt of this dynamics as pastoralists and as women, and this consequently affects their children who depend on them as their home managers and care takers.

The continued presence of conflicts and local militias is likely to have devastating effects by making women's livelihood position much more complex in the future as these women struggle to sustain livelihoods for their children and the entire family they are left to care for.

Women in Mabwegere, Ngaiti and Kiduhi villages concurred that women were disproportionately affected when UJAKI burned their houses, took their properties,

¹⁴⁵ Interview with the village chairperson of Mabwegere, 20th October, 2010

destroyed their crops and even went further and grabbed part of their fertile land on which they used to grow maize. Many women narrated the impact of displacement.¹⁴⁶

We fled our homes with our children and moved to this area last year after farmers burnt our house [see picture 11]. We could hardly find trees to build our houses when we moved here and even now. Likewise, availability of firewood is also very hard. Hatred between us and the farmers and the rate at which farmers have grabbed many of our sites has been hard for us women.¹⁴⁷

A male pastoralist also concurred that on-going conflicts restricted women's access to land and its benefits. He noted "It is the duty of women to find firewood wherever they are likely to be found and prepare food for the family and children just as it is our duty to find at any cost pasture for the livestock."¹⁴⁸ Thus women spend longer hours in collection roles on top of their productive and reproductive roles, thus indicating how conflicts disproportionately affect women and also children in comparison with men.

Anna from Parakuyo, a sub-village of Twatwatwa village concurred that in the years 2000, 2007 and 2008, conflicts between pastoralists and farmers affected women who had to stop cultivating crops. They were displaced from where they had planted and pushed towards barren and dry lands. A woman in Mabwegere village complained about the difficulties of access to water at times of conflict,

Before conflicts, we would share wells and other water points with the farmers. After 2008 conflict for instance, we could not collect water from their areas because that conflict developed hostility between us and, whenever we passed through their areas, we were beaten, robbed and sometimes raped. Fetching

¹⁴⁶ Focus group discussions with women in Mabwegere and Kiduhi villages, October 10th, 2012

¹⁴⁷ Interview with a pastoralist woman in Mabwegere, October 21st, 2012

¹⁴⁸ Interview with a male Maasai in Mabwegere village, October 21st, 2012

water in non - Maasai wells and rivers for domestic and livestock use became a big challenge for several months.¹⁴⁹

Similarly, in Mabwegere village it was noted,

Water is a major problem in this area following the presence of several big investors and small farmers. They divert water to their farms. Their farms have also blocked stock routes to the streams. We are forced to wake up very early in the morning walk between 3 to 4 hours especially during the dry season to fetch water, before we can return and do other household chores. In the past, the tractors used to assist in water collection, but now it is not possible anymore.¹⁵⁰

A traditional medicine seller found her livelihood affected by conflict [picture 10],

In the past I could easily gather herbs in our reserves for the production of medicines. Now, many trees are slashed down, and investors have taken our sites and turned into farming lands. I used sometimes to buy herbs from farmers in exchange with milk. But ever since the conflict, it has become very difficult. I often have to walk very long distances to Mvomero.¹⁵¹

The difficulty in producing traditional medicine was said to impact directly on the health of the Maasai pastoralists,

Nowadays, it becomes very difficult to get medicine for my children and others; we must sometimes send children to the hospital for treatment of malaria and other diseases we could easily treat in the past. It is also difficult nowadays to

¹⁴⁹ Mama Theresia Mapindu, Mabwegere village, October 21st, 2012

¹⁵⁰ Interview with a pastoral woman at Mabwegere village, October 25th, 2012

¹⁵¹ Mvomero is another district in Morogoro. This woman had to walk up to 15 kilometers from Twatwatwa, Parakuyo sub-village before she can reach the area

find traditional veterinary medicines; our husbands are sometimes forced to buy modern medicine even though it is too expensive.¹⁵²

Women noted that, the Operation Kilosa left them as paupers, as they lost cattle, ruminants, household objects such as cooking pots, water barrels, and food. The burning and demolition of their bomas forced them to reconstruct new housing facilities where building poles were more difficult to find. They noted that the building has always been a part of their obligations, and one in which men did not assist.¹⁵³ All women agreed that land conflicts have disproportionately affected them, increasing their workload due to family and clan members' displacement.¹⁵⁴



Picture 9: A woman with display of merchandise of herbs

From the above, unequal power relations between men and women are exacerbated when it comes to land access. Women are affected even in their secondary rights are also deprived from them due to conflicts which have disturbed the existing social cohesion and stability. In this regard, I concur with Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) and

¹⁵² Interview with an elderly Maasai woman in Parakuyo sub-village, October 20th, 2012

¹⁵³ Focus Group discussions with women held in Mabwegere, October 25th 2010

¹⁵⁴ Focus Group discussions with women held in Mabwegere, Ngaiti, Parakuyo in October 20th, 2010

Eneyew and Mengistu (2013), who argue that pastoralist women, face double effects, for being pastoralists, and for being women. At the same time, the above results are similar with the theoretical argument point at changes in land use and land access as significant factors in causing and sustaining conflicts affecting in a specific way women. While Flintan and others suggest that customs guarantee women's access to land, this is clearly not the case when new challenges arise. Eneyew and Mengistu (2013) observe in Ethiopia the impact of conflict on men, who as warriors are highly affected as they are the once who take part in the fighting. While this is true, this work brings out the less direct, social economic impacts of conflicts in which women are particularly affected in their traditional provider and caring role, amongst others.

4.3.2 Gender Relations and Conflict

Conflicts dynamics around land use affects gender relations at the societal and individual level. Thus, understanding the role of gender the above conflict analysis as noted early in section 4.0 of this chapter is crucial. Gender roles and ascription of duties is very clear-cut in the Maasai community as has been described (Talle, 1990; Sicard, 1998; Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, Poverty and Changing Livelihoods of Migrant Maasai Pastoralists in Morogoro and Kilosa Districts, Tanzania, 2003; Wangui, 2008; Misafi, 2014; Misafi, 2014; Misafi, 2014). Women are occupied fulltime with household chores, collection of fuel wood and water, and care and management of children, family members and livestock.¹⁵⁵ Men on the other hand are in charge of ensuring peace and security of the community and properties, herding and raiding of livestock, as well as decision-making.¹⁵⁶ In conflict situation, however, existing gender differentiated roles and social power relation manifests differently (Diaz, 2001). They are reconfigured and/or transformed and household roles are changed, which often leaves women to shoulder extra burdens (Mkutu, 2008).

¹⁵⁵ Personal observations and response from various interviews and FGDs with pastoralists in Kilosa, October 2010, Interview with Maasai elder in Mabwegere village, October 25th, 2012

¹⁵⁶ Interview with the Maasai elder in Mabwegere village, October 25th, 2012

This section argues, as does Diaz (2011) that the existing roles are manifesting differently under the strain of conflict. However, it is important to note that a broader change is taking place, changing gender dynamics among pastoralists, due a number of factors, of which conflict is only one. Other scholars have commented on this phenomenon, in which globalization, urbanization, modernization, education, population increase, the cash economy, religious and human rights movements, state policy and the law have all contributed towards changes in the patriarchal and other customary practices of isolated groups, be they pastoralist or otherwise (Kweka, 1999; 2011; Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003; Genda and Kirway, 2009; Munishi, 2013; Fratkin, 2014; Mkutu, 2014).

4.3.3 Workload

Conflicts and the associated displacement and separation may put added physical and psychological strain on women as they take on increased work. An elderly pastoral woman from Mabwegere village noted,

When a conflict rose in 2000, our men disappeared for several months in the bush to fight. Even after the conflict, the majority of them remained in the hiding in fear of being arrested by security operatives. We had to care for the children and the remaining livestock. We were afraid of going to Rujewa-Mbuyuni to buy food items in fear of being beaten by the enemies. So we had to eat what was left in the household and depend on relatives support for several months.¹⁵⁷

Women also noted some men died, leaving behind widows as household heads. Further the loss and damage of livelihood assets increases pressure on the same women. One pastoral woman described loss of family members who previously assumed household decision making roles and herding of livestock,

¹⁵⁷ Interview with a pastoral woman at Mabwegere village, October 19th, 2010

It was one noon of 2008, when my son returned home running and told us that the livestock accidentally entered a farmers' plot, and he had seized them, demanding Tshs 300, 000/= per animal for release. My husband and my 8-year-old son went back to the farmer for negotiations. I don't know what happened in the middle of the conversation, my husband died from a gunshot at the farmer's ground. My son tried to fight the farmer using his sticks and save his father, unfortunately he could not. He ended up being severely wounded by a machete. He came home running with blood all over him and also died few hours after...Ever since then; I have been struggling to care for my two children. If it was not for the support I got from my relatives and church members, I don't know how I would be able to raise my children alone. At one time, one of my fellow women in the church advised me to engage in the production and sale of beads and weaving of baskets. This business has helped me a lot. I also buy chicken and eggs from the Maasai women and selling them in the city. Although it is really a hard business to do so as a woman, it is however providing income to buy food¹⁵⁸

Although conflicts associated with displacement of families adversely affected women, a critical analysis indicated that, some of the left behind women as 'household heads' gained autonomy as they were free to make decisions, including that of acquiring and owning property such as land, buying and selling of livestock in the absence of their husbands. During FGDs held in Mabwegere and Twatwatwa villages, women participants confirmed that, female-headed households are increasingly emerging and as household heads, women have more autonomy to properties than married women¹⁵⁹

However, in an interview with a pastoral woman held in Mabwegere village, the researcher noted the following,

¹⁵⁸ Interview with a pastoral woman at Kiduhi village, October 8th, 2012

¹⁵⁹ FGDs held in Mabwegere and Twatwatwa villages, October 22, 2010

In 2008, many houses were set ablaze including ours [picture 11]. The attackers, who were farmers, claimed that Mabwegere belongs to them and therefore we should vacate. When my husband was around, he would together with my eldest sons take care of the herding, cattle sales during cattle market's day, and even attend meetings and negotiate with farmers whenever we had problems with the cattle during grazing. Ever since he died, it has been very difficult to handle all the activities by myself. But I have no other way but to do them in order to buy food for my children.¹⁶⁰



Picture 10: Security officials inspecting burnt houses during the 2008 conflicts in Kilosa

A widow noted that, she had to perform all the roles, which used to be done by her husband and other men folk in the family.

My husband died in 2000. His younger brother inherited me, and we have 2 girls. In 2009 during Operation Kilosa, we were ordered to move to Lindi. He relocated with the cattle, and his other 2 wives, and left me with calves and 5 stocks (milk cows). I have not heard from him since then, and I don't even have a clue of his whereabouts. I am left alone with my children, struggling to care for them. My eldest daughter likes studying with the hope of becoming a teacher in the future. So I have sent her to one of the English medium school in Kilosa town. I am able

¹⁶⁰ Interview with a Maasai pastoralist woman in Mabwegere village, October 19th, 2010

to pay her school fees, stationeries and uniforms out of the money I get from the sales of charcoal, and firewood. The school is located several kilometers from here, but with the help of the donkey I have [picture 12], I am able to escort her early in the morning at 0500am before I return to continue with my other roles. If my husband was here, he could have assisted me with herding and other roles. Now I am doing everything by myself with the help of my daughters¹⁶¹



Picture 11: A pastoral woman with her donkey and her youngest daughters

The village chairperson of *Twatwatwa* explained how existing gender- differentiated roles have failed to adjust to the strain brought by conflict.

Conflicts affect everyone in this community. However, the pastoralist women were most affected during the operation and the conflicts due to their traditions, which are quite different from the Swahili traditions. To them, women's roles are strictly for women and men are not allowed to help them. If I recall the 2000 conflict, more than 800 families, with an obvious majority of women and children were displaced from their homes and had to seek shelter at the

¹⁶¹ Mama Prisca is a widow and a co-wife to the woman I interviewed and who also lost her husband at Kiduhi sub-village.

Msowero village offices. The loss affected the women who had to look after the family and cook food. Some women had to rebuild their houses burnt to ashes, and the same women had to milk, look after their children, collect firewood, and fetch water. In the meanwhile, men went in the hide for several days¹⁶²

4.3.4 The Church and Gender Roles

At this stage it must be noted that the church in Kilosa has played a significant role in challenging the patriarchal system and promoting awareness by women of their own value and potential, even as widows or single women or divorcees. Communities and women in particular have been supported, educated and empowered in coping strategies and alternative livelihood strategies. Notably, there are few civil society organizations in the area, which is very rural. An elderly Maasai pastor (male) noted,

Traditionally, our customs and practices view a woman as someone who is just there to look after the livestock, milk the cattle, alongside with taking care of the children and the elderly people at home. In short, a Maasai woman is regarded as a servant under the empire of a man, thus one can marry as many of them as he can to assist in productive and reproductive works. But thanks to Christianity, things are changing our status slowly because men and older people are studying the Bible and learning practices, which are contrary to the existing practices. I had to leave my other two wives and only kept the first one. The Maasai who reads and practice what the bible says learn how to respect women. Our women are also slowly beginning to realize themselves.¹⁶³

Mama Anna Oloishuro, the sister of the pastor and a divorcee noted,

¹⁶² Interview with the village chairperson of Twatwatwa village, October 19th, 2010

¹⁶³ Interview with an elderly male pastoralist, also a Pastor held in Morogoro, October 18th, 2010

Things are increasingly changing, albeit very slowly. If I have to speak of my case, very often men would seek an advice from me before they hold their meetings and make decisions that affect the entire community. Thus, I believe as out customs and traditions are slowly influenced partly by religious faith and beliefs, abusive treatments on women will also change. I was once married and my husband married other women. But I refused to be mistreated by him and the younger wives, and decided to live by myself with my children. It was very hard in the beginning, but now everyone accepts and respects me. I have my own shop and a restaurant and life goes on.¹⁶⁴

Women noted that some of their fellow women are now managing their own shops, restaurants, and beadworks. They also noted that contrary to the past, some are now engaging in public debates particularly in the constitutional review meetings.¹⁶⁵ In one of the FGD with women in Parakuyo sub- village, women noted that although divorce is rare in their societies, increasingly it is becoming visible. Single parents are present, and are able to manage their livelihoods better when they were co-wives.¹⁶⁶

These testimonies imply that despite the melting of the Maasai livelihoods as a result of land conflict and other factors, and the migration of men further and further away to look for work, some women have been able to adapt and manage their own lives and care for their children.¹⁶⁷ Byrne (1996), Baden (1997) and Mkutu (2008) further observe that conflict in itself has served to some extent, the impetus for women to

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Mama Anna Oloishuro, Parakuyo sub- village, October 19th, 2010

¹⁶⁵ FGD with women held in Twatwatwa, Parakuyo sub-village, October 19th, 2012

¹⁶⁶ Mama Esther, Parakuyo sub-village, October 19th, 2010

¹⁶⁷ Tanzania is currently undergoing a process to review the current constitution, and increasingly Maasai women including those of Kilosa such as Mama Esther Juma Lapani, Mama Anna and few others are taking part in the constitutional review debates. And interestingly, Mama Esther is a female representative, to the constitutional assembly representing Maasai women of Ilparakuyo, Kilosa district.

become less dependent upon men. For instance, Mkutu (2008) observe that, among the Karamoja pastoralists in Uganda, women, whose lives have been put under various stresses through armed conflict, are increasingly becoming independent breadwinners and are even managing the acquisition of guns for the sake of the family. This effect of the conflict situation is also implied in this work.

4.3.5 Widow and Inheritance Issues

In Maasai societies, widows are inherited by the late husband's brother or close relative, although this practice and the practice of polygamy is increasingly being challenged by the Christian church and its Maasai members. Where the practice does take place, the inherited wife is accorded lower status than other women, implying increased vulnerability and reduced power over household decisions including of her own livestock which she came with. Women in Mabwegere, Kiduhi, Ngaiti, and Parakuyo villages, explained how they felt that this has become a mechanism for economic, rather than for care of the widow and her children. The new husband automatically gains ownership and control of household assets like cattle and decisions over their disposal, increasingly leaving many widows in impoverishment and vulnerability. Some are forced to migrate to urban areas in search for alternative economic niche. Sadly, in some cases some are resorting to prostitution for survival [see also chapter 3].

Thus conflicts have left some women as widows or alone, and increased their share of workloads. In some cases it appears that their access to decision making has increased correspondingly. The left behind women when exposed to education through church teachings and activists assume household headship roles hence make decisions including selling and buying livestock. But this is not always the case. Those women who have limited access to education and activists teachings continue to become powerless in decision-making. They depend on male relatives or their sons and brothers to make decisions on their behalf. Where women lack independent access to resources like land, water, and livestock, this implies also an increase in the vulnerability of married women, since according to Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) and, Eneyew and Mengistu (2013), pastoral women do not have independent access to land, and livestock

but rather depend on relational access rights to these resources by virtue of their social relations with men.

4.3.6 Physical Vulnerability

In general all over the world, there are always more male victims in conflict situations when compared to women (Mkutu, 2008). As men comprise the majority of warriors, they suffer to a greater degree from direct conflict, injuries and killings from fight (Msuya, 2013). This work has so far demonstrated the effect of conflict on women and its particular interaction with existing gender differentiated roles to increase women's workload and in some cases, women's vulnerability due to food insecurity and other threats.

Gender roles also determine women's ability to physically defend themselves and those whom they care for. They are unarmed in contrast to men¹⁶⁸ and more vulnerable to injury and death in certain conflict situations. Unlike men, women are victims of abduction, rape and murder. They also suffer greater levels of displacement; and social and economic vulnerability, due in large part to loss of access to sources of livelihoods (in particular, agricultural and livestock systems) and to basic service (Hamilton and Dama, 2003). Furthermore, when casualties occur, the burden falls on women to support the households; consequently, women live with permanent worry during conflict situation (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008).

Women in Mabwegere, Ngaiti and Kiduhi recalled how, in the context of conflict situations, some among them, and their children, had been subjected to assault, abduction and rape in the course of fetching water, collecting firewood and care for the household members. This was exacerbated by prolonged drought and the presence of irrigation systems in Kilosa, forcing them to walk longer distances to access such basic resources, sometimes 3 to 4 hours to find water as part of their daily roles. A woman

¹⁶⁸ Male pastoral Maasai are in most cases full-time armed with swords, clubs, and arrows unlike women.

gave a shocking tale of her experience during the November 2008 conflict in Mabwegere:

I was pregnant, very ill and alone asleep in my boma. Suddenly, three men broke into my house and ordered me to get out. As I was negotiating to pull myself together, one of them pulled me and pushed me out of the house. One of them started beating me, and the other one undressed all of my clothes and left me groaning in deep stiff pain ¹⁶⁹

Other women described the rape of a woman by the UJAKI¹⁷⁰ in 2000.

She was coming from the grinding mills with food heading home. She was attacked by a group of UJAKI and raped. They took her clothes and beads, 2 bags of maize flour, 20 liters of cooking oil, and a donkey. She was left unconsciously after the scene in the bush thinking she was dead. Fortunately, she survived and managed to make her way home.¹⁷¹

A woman gave a similar story from Mabwegere village,

I was collecting firewood before suddenly from a distance, I saw a group of men ... farmers and I think they were the UJAKI people. I ran away. My co-wife could not run. She was abducted and severely abused... we never saw her until the following day ¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Interview with a pastoralist woman in Mabwegere village, October 23rd, 2012

¹⁷⁰ UJAKI (Ulinzi wa Jadi Kilosa) is the name for the local militia group that belongs to the farming communities in Kilosa. More explanation of its operation is covered in section 4.3.2 of this chapter

¹⁷¹ FGD with women in Ngaiti sub-village, 20th October, 2010

¹⁷² FGD with women at Mabwegere village, 20th October, 2010

In Twatwatwa, Ngaiti and Kiduhi villages, women concurred that they are sometimes forced to collect water and firewood from far or in risky restricted areas like Mikumi National park, risking being fined, attacked or brutalized on some occasions.¹⁷³ Another woman narrated,

We used to freely collect firewood and water in our nearest areas. Increasingly, private owners have fenced many areas, and we are forced to enter the park sometimes in order to collect them. But now picking up wood from Mikumi parks is strictly on specific days... twice a week, and if you are caught on other days you may end up beaten by game wardens and in some cases even sexually abused by UJAKI.¹⁷⁴

The effect of shame after rape brings added troubles for women as she went on to say,

When the 2000 conflict started, many women and girls were raped. There are still cases of women being raped as they fetch water, firewood and even make charcoal. However, these cases are not frequently reported for fear of being isolated and mocked by the community.¹⁷⁵

Another woman also concurred to this point:

Few months after 2000 conflict, the militia attacked and raped two of our fellow women fetching firewood in the bush. Due to this shame, they decided to leave their homes and move to other areas and we have not heard from them ever since.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ FGDs with women held in Twatwatwa, Ngaiti and Kiduhi villages between 23rd, 25th, and 28th August 2012 respectively.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Anna, Parakuyo sub-village of Twatwatwa, 22nd October, 2010

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Anna, Parakuyo sub-village, 22nd October, 2010

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Esther, Parakuyo sub village, October 22nd, 2010

Women are subjected to abduction and even rape due to their social roles and by virtue of being women and mothers.

4.3.7 Income and Loss of Livelihood

Byrne (1996) noted that when conflict occurs, there is greatest economic impact particularly income reduction and women by virtues of their roles suffer the consequences. Conflicts have also specific impacts on women's source of income. Cattle loss impacts on pastoral households (Devereux, 2006), through loss of milk supply over which women, by virtue of their specific gender roles are traditionally in charge. In the same vein, fear of conflicts [being attacked by enemies], restricts movement of people and livestock, interfering with milk production, and reproduction and access to markets. This disproportionately affects women because of their other family responsibilities, and their autonomy depends upon their success in this area of managing milk supplies.

Comparable observations have also been noted by Kristjanson et al (2010) that; conflict affects women traditional control over milk and milk products and consequently increases their diminishing decrease in power within the households. Talle notes that milk is a source of power [for food and trade as source of income], thus its scarcity is not only material deprivation, but it also makes women feel intimidated and socially inferior (Talle, 1990). A woman noted in Mabwegere,

When the 2008 conflict went on, we spent several months in very tense and insecure situation. We were so unsettled in fear of the farmers; we could not even take good care of our maize and cattle. This resulted into severe shortage of maize and milk, and our children suffered as they often passed days without food. I remember I used to cry and wish I could even die, for I felt as a useless mother for not being able to give meals to my children.¹⁷⁷

This matter of conflict and food security has been extensively explored in chapter 5.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with a pastoralist woman at Mabwegere village, October, 2012

Some women have resorted into income generating activities like production and selling of charcoal and fuel wood, as an add-on to their income but this has also been disrupted by conflict. A woman in Parakuyo described how she has engaged in charcoal production for more than 12 years, providing for 10 family members who totally depend on this business, as the husband no longer has enough cattle to provide for their needs. Byrne (1996) notes that when conflict occurs, there is greatest economic impact particularly income reduction and women by virtues of their roles suffers the consequences.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter examines land conflicts in Kilosa, its impacts on gender relations. Land use conflicts in Kilosa are longstanding and recurrent in nature and take three dominant patterns: pastoralists and farmers [which occurred in 2000, 2008; 2009; 2010; 2012]; pastoralist and Mikumi National Park; and pastoralists and the investors. Further, the attempt by the state to mitigate land use conflict through Operation Kilosa may be considered in this analysis, by virtue of the violence and disruption suffered by Maasai pastoralists. Other authors have commented on the problems of the forced eviction approach (PINGOs-Forum, Hakiardhi, HIMWA, 2007; Walsh, 2007; Ngailo, 2011; Msigwa and Mvena, 2014; Mwambene, et al., 2014).

Despite women having secondary access to land, existing land conflicts in Kilosa affected women and the children they care for as default home managers and caretakers. Conflicts in Kilosa have made pastoralist women vulnerable in terms of increased workload, the need to take on greater responsibilities, insecurity, loss of income and exposure to serious cases of assault, abductions and rape. Sadly, sexually abused and abducted women endure quietly these effects as they fear disgrace, shame, retaliation and isolation, some choosing to disconnect from their families. And children due to their dependence on their mothers are consequently affected. The unannounced eviction process of Operation Kilosa led to displacement, abuse, and loss and/or restricted access to land, which had particular effect on increasing women's vulnerability further, reducing their access to resources and undermining their status as household and food

managers and caretakers of children. Therefore this work argues that women are differently affected in conflict situations, and this confirms the theoretical argument that conflict impacts are gender differentiated.

Gender differentiated roles and power relations are in some cases reinforced by conflict situations (as in the case of rape, and widow inheritance) and in other cases, have flexed to fit the situation, as women have learned to become independent decision makers and owners land and businesses (Mkutu, 2008). Importantly, there are many other factors in this transformation, including the influence of the church, and a full analysis of the factors leading to the reduced influence of the patriarchal system amongst the Maasai is beyond the scope of this work.

A new hope for women is the support offered by the church¹⁷⁸ in facilitating self-awareness and alternative sources of livelihood, helping women to shoulder their reproductive and productive roles. However, very few women are realizing this open space, leaving majority of the Maasai women in a very desperate and vulnerable positions.

¹⁷⁸ As noted earlier from the results in this chapter, the church is the main active civil society organization on the ground helping these women

Chapter Five

Climate Change, Land Conflicts and Pastoralist Women

5.1 Introduction

With climate change¹⁷⁹ threatening to overburden state and regions which are already conflict prone (Hoste and Vlassenroot, 2010), the subject climate change is becoming one of the prominent issue in academic and political agenda across global and regional scales. Rise in temperature from 2 to 6 degrees Celsius in the coming century is predicted to exacerbate existing weather extremes leading to drought, desertification and shrinkage of rangelands, floods, and incidences of disease outbreak and arise in sea level with increasing risk of conflict to natural resources dependent livelihoods (IPCC, 2007; Yanda and Mubaya, 2011; Mulinge, 2013). During the last decades it has been increasingly recognized that pastoralism is highly sensitive to increasing threats of environmental degradation and global warming (Hartmann and Segulle, 2009). Pastoral vulnerability to recent climatic changes is also due to increasing threats of multitude set of factors predominantly sedentarisation policies, privatization, and increasing focus on large-scale agriculture, among many others, exacerbated by ecological degradation itself in a positive feedback-loop (Mkutu, 2001).

The recent years recurrent droughts in Tanzania is claimed to be attributed by changing climatic conditions, and threatens to exacerbate migrations, population growth and conflicts around land (URT, 2009; URT, 2012). The arid and semi-arid areas (ASALS) of Tanzania, where pastoralists use as source of their livelihood opportunities are predicted to be vulnerable due to dependence on climate sensitive resources like pasture, and water which climate change is predicted to shrink them further (URT, 2009; 2012). Shrinkage of rangelands is likely to exacerbate conflicts between livestock

¹⁷⁹ Climate variability connotes short term deviation of climatic parameters of a region that are varying from its long-term mean due to internal processes and external forces (Yanda and Mubaya, 2011:6). *Climate change* thus refers to a shift in the mean state of climate or its variability persisting for an extended period of time (decades or longer), resulting from persistent anthropogenic factors following changes in the composition of the atmosphere of land use or natural changing factors (Hegerl et al., 2007:667). In this context therefore, climate change will refer to longer variation (30 years or longer) in temperature and rainfall patterns irrespective of their causal factor.

keepers and farmers in many areas (NAPA, 2009). This connection is also reflected in the National Climate change Strategy (URT, 2012). The already existing factors such as political and economic marginalization, inappropriate development policies, and increasing resource competitions among multiple users, which exacerbate their vulnerability to drought, induced shocks (Kirkbride and Grahn, 2008; Doty, Gradeja, Phillips, and Shrestha, 2011). Likewise, already dry environments get drier with severe shortage of water, unpredictable and uneven rainfall patterns, coupled with extreme weather conditions manifested in extended and regular drought periods. These developments trigger the already elusive balance on which the pastoral mode of production is grounded (Hesse and Cotula, 2006; Tacoli, 2009). We already know from chapter 4 that, conflicts around land in Kilosa are increasingly gaining pace, and multiple actors like investors also constitute these conflicts. While conflicting and contradictory laws was noted to partly contribute to these conflicts, with gender differentiate impacts of conflicts on women, we do not know if climate change has a foot in exacerbating these conflicts.

Given the already noted conflicts around land in Kilosa and the growing threats of their exacerbation with global warming threats, using Kilosa district [figure x] as a case study, this chapter debates on the alleged causal relationship between climate change and the already discussed land use conflicts. The analysis is done by using climate data (rainfall and temperature as parameters of analysis], complemented by documentary reviews and a detailed ethnographic inspired qualitative study of land use conflicts and observed climatic changes from the study area. Thereafter, I will analyze how climate change affects pastoral Maasai women livelihood. I find it interesting to analyse how climate induced impacts [if found any] in Kilosa affects pastoral Maasai women livelihood because, in the literature reviewed, where prolonged drought and incidence of floods have been observed, gender-differentiated impacts are noticed (Paavoala, 2008, Mushi, 2013).

However, empirical evidence indicating relationship between climate change, conflict and gender in pastoral areas is very scanty and patchy which makes it difficult to draw strong and generalized conclusions. Omolo (2010) found among the Turkana

pastoralists that, women by virtue of their certain specific gender roles attached to climate sensitive resources are vulnerable to climate change induced shocks like conflicts relative to men. Gender norms and power inequalities pertinent to the division of labor, access to and control over resources, entrenched in the social structure are significant issues in climate change because they affect differently the adaptation capabilities of men and women to climate risks (Adger, 1999; Omolo, 2010). In the subsequent section, I will provide a theoretical account of climate change – conflicts nexus, and its link to gender. In the second section, I will provide a situational discussion on the issue of climate change induced conflicts as it relates to pastoral women in Tanzania.

5.2 Climate Change, Land Conflicts, and Gender – A Theoretical Account

With climate change taking a central stage in academic and political arena, a vigorous debate exists on whether climate change has caused, is currently causing, or will cause in the future an increase in the intensity of violent conflicts. These debates can best be characterized into three categories: Direct, indirect, and the critical models (Forsyth and Schomerus, 2013).

The first category of studies claims that, “It is an indisputable fact that climate change will lead to more and more conflicts caused either by growing competition for access to and distribution of resources, such as water and arable land, or by the rising number of natural disasters” (Ulrike Röhr, gender and climate change activist). These arguments are typically inspired and grounded on the Neo-Malthusian theories of population growth and resource scarcity (see Homer Dixon, 1999), which argue environmental scarcity resulting from degradation of environmental resources, population growth and unequal resource distribution instigates violent conflict. This is to say, these studies claims that, there is a direct, linear (or say close link) relationship between environmental change, resource scarcity and conflicts, and therefore change in climate directly leads to conflicts (Diamond, 2005; UNEP , 2007; Sachs, 2005; Hendrix and Glaser, 2007; Brancati D. , 2007; Burke M. , Miguel, Shanker, and Lobel, 2009; Notaras, 2009). Politicians and international civil servants have popularized the ideas of these

studies across the globe in relation to the most popular examples of conflicts like the Sahel (Benjaminsen et al., 2012) and Rwanda conflicts - with Malthusian stories (Diamod, 2005) and Darfur conflicts (UNEP, 2007). For instance, in 2007, the UN secretary Ban Ki-Moon made a connection between global warming and the conflicts in Darfur (Ki-Moon, 2007).

Homer-Dixon's thesis as a basis for violent conflict has however been contested in climate-conflicts literature on the grounds that, scarcity of natural resource does not necessarily lead to violent conflict, but can instead lead to collaborative actions and arrangements (Funder, Cold-Ravnkilde, and Ginsberg, 2012). Likewise, conflicts do occur during wet seasons as well (Butler and Gates, 2012; Opiyo , Wasonga, Schilling, and Mureithi, 2012; Hendrix and Salehyan, 2012). Every conflict has many causes, and people do not automatically start fighting when the weather heats up, their crops shrivel, or even their jobs disappear (Sayne, 2011). But rather, it is a question related to prevailing social, economic and political conditions may trigger conflicts (Righarts, 2009). Existing studies also claim that, environmentally induced migration can lead to conflicts in receiving areas due to competition for scarce resources, ethnic tension, distrust among origin and host area when migrants are from different ethnic groups, and exacerbation of socio-economic fault lines (Raleigh, Jordan, and Salehyan, 2008). Results from a case study of 38 migration cases in Asia, Africa and Latin America on the link between migration and conflict revealed that migration does not necessarily induce violent behavior (Reuveny, 2007). Contending to this view is the argument that, whether or not environmentally induced migration leads to violent conflicts in receiving areas depends on the capacity of the state to accommodate the needs and alleviate grievances of migrants and locals alike (Suhrke, 1993). Further, the shift from increased competition over resources to open conflicts depends on existing coping capacities of societies and policies, institutions and processes that define access to resources. People can adapt smoothly without resorting to conflict (Righarts, 2009)

Hoste and Vlassenroot (2010) refine the argument, noting, "There is not one continent wide 'African Climate Change Effect'. Africa is diverse and big. Some areas will become drier, other areas wetter. For some it might mean prosperity due to an increase of rain

and vegetation, and for most others, it will mean dire adversity” (Hoste and Vlassenroot, 2009:141). Views of climate change-conflict nexus as provided by Hoste and Vlassenroot (2010) and Righarts (2009) above reflect the views emphasized by second body of literature “the *indirect school*”. Advocating this school is Geoffrey Dabelko¹⁸⁰, who states, “While climate change is expected to exacerbate conditions that can contribute to intrastate conflict, it is neither a necessary nor a sufficient cause of conflict”. This implies that, climate change is indirectly linked to conflicts, and thus climate change is just a ‘threat multiplier’ that exacerbates existing trends, tensions and instability (Barnett and Adger, 2007; Hoste and Vlassenroot, 2010; Benjaminsen , Alinon, Buhaug, and Buseth, 2012; Opiyo , Wasonga, Schilling, and Mureithi, 2012). Conflict over resources, loss of territory and border disputes, environmentally-induced migration, situations of fragility and radicalization, tension over energy supply and pressure on international governance are among the six threats which climate change will exacerbate (Javier Solana Cf. Hoste and Vlassenroot, 2010:143). Unlike the previous school, studies in the line of this school do not assume that conflict is an inevitable outcome, but rather place emphasize on the role of local institutions and behaviors within countries and societies that lessen conflict in the event of environmental change and scarcity.

The third body of literature constitutes the “critical schools”, views existing global debates on whether climate change has caused, is currently causing, or will cause in the future an increase in the intensity of violent conflicts, as a phantom of exaggerated science and has become a political tool (McLean, 2014). In view of that, they urge for a need to understand conflicts or violent conflict in a more complex ways than simply triggered by environmental or climate change, and also a need to look for other causes of social vulnerability and conflict (Faris , 2007; Kevane and Gray, 2008; Hartmann, 2010). One of the critical issues raised by this school is on the manner in which the debates are taking place. The conflict debates are occurring in parallel, without connection, to the discussion on adaptation as some have even avoided or neglected

¹⁸⁰ A senior Adviser of the Environmental Change and Security program at the Wilson center

conflict related issues (Forsyth and Schomerus, 2013, p. 25). The second issue is how climate issue is on the politicization of climate debates. It is argued that, laying the blame for conflict on climate change has depoliticized and de-emphasized other important causes of conflicts. For example, the use of Darfur conflict as representation of a '*climate war*' reduces the attention to the responsibility of the Sudanese Government and means on how to enhance local adaptive capacity (Kevane and Gray, 2008). Thirdly, existing discussions of climate change and conflicts serve a political purpose to undermine certain forms of development assistance and instead empower other political agendas. That is why Lamborg (2001) views climate change debates as a phantom of exaggeration, which may affect economic and human welfare because more resources will be unnecessarily diverted to climate, change mitigation and adaptation rather than human welfare development.

In this regard, the critical school posits that, the causal link between climate change and conflicts is political, misleading and unhelpful for affected groups and country. As consequence, it leads to some of the social groups become more vulnerable than others to climate change – conflicts related impacts, due to wider context of differentiated vulnerabilities found in the societies. Vulnerability is one of the dominant concepts widely used across literature (Sen A. , 1981; Adger and Kelly, 1999; Paavola , 2008), yet a widely contested concept (Cutter, 1996). Existing studies have, however, assessed vulnerability context based on three main mechanisms: exposure, sensitivity, and adaptive capacity (O'Brien and Leichenko, 2000).

The above theoretical arguments reflects the three main on-going debate on whether changing climate has caused, is currently causing, or will cause in the future an increase in the number or intensity of violent conflicts. Given the existing controversy in the climate change-conflict nexus, it is not my intention to proof or disapprove these types of causal relationship, for I do not opt to enter into the chicken-egg discussion. My work is rather exploring the existing relationship and its gendered impacts to pastoral Maasai women in Kilosa district, Tanzania.

In the context of climate and gender (as further discussed in the subsequent paragraphs), a useful vulnerability analysis should focus on the wider structural causes of vulnerability. *Social vulnerability* explicitly emphasizes those demographic and socioeconomic factors that influence (increase or weaken) the capacity to anticipate, cope with and recover from the impact of hazard events on local populations (Blaikie P. , Cannon, Davis, and Wisner, 1994; Tierney, Lindell, and Perry, 2001; Smit and Wandel, 2006). The social vulnerability concept views vulnerability as a function of the wider political and economic environment often shaped and constrained by social, political and economic factors and processes at higher scales (Smit and Wandel, 2006). In this context, I view climate change vulnerability from the social vulnerability, which takes into account the wider context in which climatic shocks occurs, including issues such as people's social status, their gender, their livelihoods, the infrastructure to which they have access and the institutions which influence their access to and control of resources (Adger, 1999; Adger and Kelly, 1999).

Existing literature indicates that, changes in the climate affect men and women differently, and amplify the existing gender inequalities (Omolo, 2010; Dankelman , 2010; 2011). Both men and women are affected by and vulnerable to climate change and global warming, but women often bear the brunt of the burden (UNDP, 2010). For instance, the differentiated impacts of climate change vulnerability between men and women can best be viewed from the multiple gender roles played and their unequal distribution amongst them (Babugura, 2010). Women bear the most burdens resulting from climate variability and change impacts including longer working hours and extra workloads in comparison to men (Buckingham-Hatfield, 2000; Goh, 2012; Asheber, 2010). More broadly, within the pastoral societies, empirical data suggests that, the taxing multiple gendered based roles women play in the family place them more vulnerable to prolonged droughts, excessive rainfall, and degradation, and conflicts as exacerbated by the impacts of climate change (Omolo, 2010; Mulubrham and Kelemework, 2013). With increase recurrence of drought, pastoral women are increasingly loaded with roles and responsibilities on top of their full-time demanding work as women have to collect water from water sources that are farther and farther away as each drought take its toll (Mkutu, 2008).

Equally, Asheber (2010) finds similar results in Ethiopia, and Dankelman et al. (2008) in Senegal, where women were more severely affected by water shortages than men, largely due to their role as water collectors for the household. The women had to travel farther than before in search for water, as well as spend more time checking different wells for water availability. With conflicts, existing works indicate that, mobility capacity is also a gender issue. Unlike women, men are more mobile and more likely to migrate to areas unaffected by climate events in search of employment, whereas women are less mobile, and more likely to stay back in the affected area to care for the family and household. Increasing rates of male outmigration as a consequence of climate signals may bring consequences for households (Mushi, 2013). Similarly, Agwu and Okhimambe (2009) find in Nigeria that during flood periods and the dry season, temporary migration of men to urban areas result in women being left alone to take care of the household, which eventually increase extra workloads to women in a more vulnerable state different from men. Omolo (2010) indicates that, women are particularly vulnerable to conflict. This is because women are responsible for their family including children and cannot easily flee during periods of conflicts. According to Eriksen and Lind (2005), conflicts have led to several women losing their husbands, consequently assuming household headship positions. Women headed households are particularly vulnerable because women have poor customary rights to land and land related resources. They have to depend on male relatives or sons.

Women are also more vulnerable to climate induced impacts because of their roles as mothers and caregivers: when conflict for instance occur or is about to strike, their ability to seek their own safety becomes restricted by their default responsibilities to the very young and the very old, both of whom require support and care (Omolo, 2010). As default home managers, in charge of obtaining water, firewood, and other resources for their families, but these resources are directly affected by changing climate, meaning women must trek further and work longer hours to access them during prolonged drought (Omolo, 2010; Dankelman, 2011). Both inevitable and restricted movements produce detrimental effects on women particularly to rape and abductions as they perform their gender roles (Reuveny, 2007; Schilling, Opiyo, and Scheffran, 2012). However, there is a view that, men are also affected by shocks because of their social

roles as household and community providers of security or because of expectations that they should be 'brave' in times of disaster thus making them more likely to put their lives at risk in climate-related events such as floods (Skinner, 2011). Thus social vulnerability is seen as a useful lens through which to view the climate change and gender debate.

In relation to the above noted concerns, this chapter is interested in what is happening in Tanzania with regards to climate change and land conflicts, and how it relates to pastoralists, particularly women. This chapter contributes to the existing rudimentary and patchy information on climate change, conflicts and gender in pastoral areas (see Paavoala, 2008; Mushi, 2013). Just as gender is invisible in many areas of policy such as those related to conflict and in practice (Mkutu, 2008), the potential impacts of climate change induced conflicts on gender relations in especially in pastoral areas have not been adequately explored and remain unnoticed (Lambrou and Piana, 2005; Agwu and Okhimamhe, 2009). Analysis of climate change induced conflicts and gender is particularly informed by the social vulnerability concept, as is consistent with the previous analysis in this work. Before embarking on empirical discussion of the context of Kilosa, I will first provide a situational discussion on the issue of climate change induced conflicts as it relates to pastoral women in Tanzania. This is done in the subsequent section.

5.3 Climate Change, Conflicts and Pastoral Women in Tanzania

Much is known within literature concerning pastoral societies in Tanzania and the manner in which are increasingly weighed down by prolonged droughts and thrilling variation in climate in recent decades (Sendalo, 2009; Mary and Majule, 2009). Likewise, the compounding effect of political and economic policies in weakening traditional adaptive capabilities to the negative consequences of prolonged drought and climate variability is also documented (Yanda and Mubaya, 2011). Some literature has even examined gender differentiated impacts of climate change, arguing that the degree of vulnerability and capacity to cope and adapt to climate change varies between pastoral communities varies according to gender and resource ownership. Existing inequalities

between men and women in terms of household gender division of labor, ownership of resources and decision-making contributes to their differentiated impacts (Mushi, 2013). Given the limited access to, and control of resources like land and land resources, and multiple roles, which attach women to climate sensitive resources, they are potentially vulnerable relative to men (Paavola J. , 2008; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). These social positions also place them to limited adaptive capacity and opportunities to prepare for the impacts of a changing climate given their limited resources (Yanda and Mubaya, 2011; Mushi , 2013).

Regardless of the wide existing literature, very limited empirical data exists to inform the relationship between climate change, land conflicts and women, particularly in pastoral areas. In a study by Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008), impacts on climate change on pastoral women in Tanzania is discussed. Findings of this study revealed that, as climate change is taking its toll, women are left behind with a burden of caring for the children and management of households as men are forced further afield with herds in search for water and pasture. However, their observations lack a link to conflict. Whereas Mushi (2013) examined women pastoralists and climate change impacts in Kilosa district and found that both men and women are negatively affected by climate change and variability, with women being more vulnerable, she did not however explore the dynamic of conflicts in the argument, which this work hopes to do. Similarly, most works on Tanzania (including Kilosa) that discuss security issues do not focus on gender (See Maganga et al., 2007; Benjaminsen et al., 2009; Riesman et al., 2013). Given the secondary and economic position assigned to women in relation to land, climate change serves as a threat multiplier to their already secondary social positions. Conflicts around land either directly or indirectly triggered by climate change, has compounding effects on the existing gender constructed inequalities of men and women, by exacerbating the already existing inherent gender inequalities among the patriarchal Maasai societies.

5.4 Climate Change, Conflicts and Pastoral Women in Kilosa

This section examines closely on climatic patterns and change in Kilosa, its potential role in the conflicts and the impact on the position of pastoral women in Kilosa. The central argument of my work is that, climate is just one factor among several factors exacerbating pastoral conflicts and together exacerbates the plight of women and children in Kilosa district.

5.4.1 Climate Change in Kilosa

As noted earlier, there is considerable evidence showing that climate change is taking place in the Morogoro region and other regions of Tanzania. However, given the prosperity and dire adversity resulting from climate change among different groups acknowledged in the literature (Hoste and Vlassenroot, 2010), it was crucial to get local people's views and experiences of climate change in Kilosa. Partly, experience is a necessary prerequisite for adaption (Maddison, 2006). Climate change in this work will be analysed by focusing on two climatic variables: rainfall and temperature patterns and correspondingly, two climate incidences: floods and droughts.

Temperature patterns

During field visits in Kilosa, personal experience of hotter days in later years of the research gave strength of meaning to local observations. An elder in Kiduhi articulated the following:

...The Kilosa you see now is not the one we used to see when I was at your age...Kiduhi used to be a very fertile, green and beautiful village with wide areas for grazing large herds of cattle. We were living in a thick forest full of trees, and in the morning you would hear the singing birds and water would flow all the time. The mornings used to be very cold especially in the months of June- July. Our children used to shiver and fail to talk properly and steam would come from someone's lips when talking or yawning. The fog used to be so huge and the grass would be covered with dew especially in the morning. The evenings were also

very chilly. But nowadays, this era is gone...we have more and more hotter days; we feel the hotness even in our locally made mud houses. It is still very hot... more and more outbreaks of diseases affect our cattle and us. Our herbal medicines are no longer effective as before....¹⁸¹

Anna, a pastoral woman, had this to say:

Some plant species that were previously used as medicines to cure different diseases have now disappeared, as they cannot survive the changing weather conditions. For example, of recently “Mkutanyi” one of the herbal medicines we used to treat malaria has stopped growing many of us are now using modern medicines. Likewise, “Olkiloriti” an herbal medicine typically used by men as an energy booster and many other of the type are increasingly disappearing. We do not have forest and trees that we used to collect fruits, help our mothers to collect firewood and fetch water... Increasingly, foreign plant and tree species have emerged...and they grow alongside water sources, in the end we do not have enough water for livestock and human consumption, and pasture growth¹⁸²

Rainfall patterns

Interviews in Kilosa revealed that rainfall patterns have been changing over time, and becoming less predictable. Locals in Mabwegere and Twatwatwa villages noted that such changes over years and months are affecting availability of water for livestock production. Increased incidences of drought has led to loss of vegetation, particularly pasture and trees and reduced the availability of building sticks, herbs for medicines and wild fruits in some years rainfall is prolonged, resulting in destructive floods, with loss of lives, livestock, and outbreak of diseases. An elder in Mabwegere village related:

¹⁸¹ Interview with male key informant at Kiduhi, November, 2012

¹⁸² Interview with a pastoral woman in Kiduhi, November, 2012

In the past years, it used to rain a lot, and the morning mist would roll out so huge that even seeing my neighbor's house was very hard. We had very short dry season compared to the wetter seasons. But now, rain seasons are very unpredictable and unseasonal. We sometimes have very little rain falling and sometimes too much rain. The usual short rains which used to commence in October through December and the longer rains of February to May are no longer pouring predictably. The rains will either start late or stop early or not come at all, like in 2005, which in the end affected the volume of water in the river Mkondoa, and in shallow and deep wells which we rely on for water. This results into less time for pasture growth; hence the livestock lean period is prolonged as they deprived of sufficient fodder, making such unsecured stages increasingly more challenging. Kilosa had many rivers that were flowing almost throughout the year, but nowadays, we depend much on river Mkondoa. Trees are also disappearing. In some cases, when it pours down, it results into floods such as in 2009 and 2011 December.¹⁸³

The village chairperson for Mabwegere concurred, and highlighted how this may lead to competition for available water:

...Very frequently rain is unpredictable. We used to have rain for 6 months, but increasingly we can have it for only 4 months and sometimes less than that, and when it rains, it is in patches...in some seasons it is absent. Most of the pastoral settlements in Kilosa such as those settling in Manyara, have serious shortage of not just clean water, but water in general and this is much harder during prolonged dry season because they lack enough facilities to preserve water. Irrigation systems are increased from before, which affects normal water flow, because farmers tend to divert the water to their farms, consequently blocking other water users from accessing. We also experienced destructive floods in some years. I remember when I was a *moran*, it rained heavily one year and the

¹⁸³ Interview with the Maasai elder in Ngaiti sub-village, October 21st, 2010

whole area was filled with water. Again in 1998, the El-Nino rains resulted into very heavy floods. Very recently between 2009 and early 2010, we were hit with floods and diseases. Our cattle suffered from foot and mouth disease and our children suffered from malaria and diarrhea. We could not get safe water as the whole area including water sources were contaminated and covered with mud. Some of the cattle had to be moved to other locations while others (especially the calves) died, as they could not escape from the running water¹⁸⁴

Likewise, Anna had this to say:

We are increasingly experiencing prolonged drought seasons and in some years or months we may also experience prolonged rains, which result in floods. Gone are the days when we would rely on our traditional knowledge to predict the rainfall seasons and the common changes. Increasingly it is becoming very hard. The dry seasons are much longer, frequent and unpredictable than before. I will never forget the drought years of 1999 and 2000. We were expecting the rains but it never rained to our expectations. Imagine, it had just rained heavily in 1998, and then we thought things were going to be normal, but to our great surprise we went through prolonged dry seasons. The good rains of 1998, which we took them, as godsend did not help us not even our cattle to survive in the dry spells of 1999. We experienced severe depletion in pasture and water, and our cattle became very weak with less production of milk... women were forced to walk many hours before they got access to water for domestic and livestock usage.¹⁸⁵

Other authors have also recorded local perceptions of temperature. Maddison (2006) in a study that assessed the ability of farmers in eleven African countries¹⁸⁶ to detect and

¹⁸⁴ Interview, district administrative secretary, Kilosa, 20th, October, 2010

¹⁸⁵ Anna, Parakuyo sub- village, October, 2010

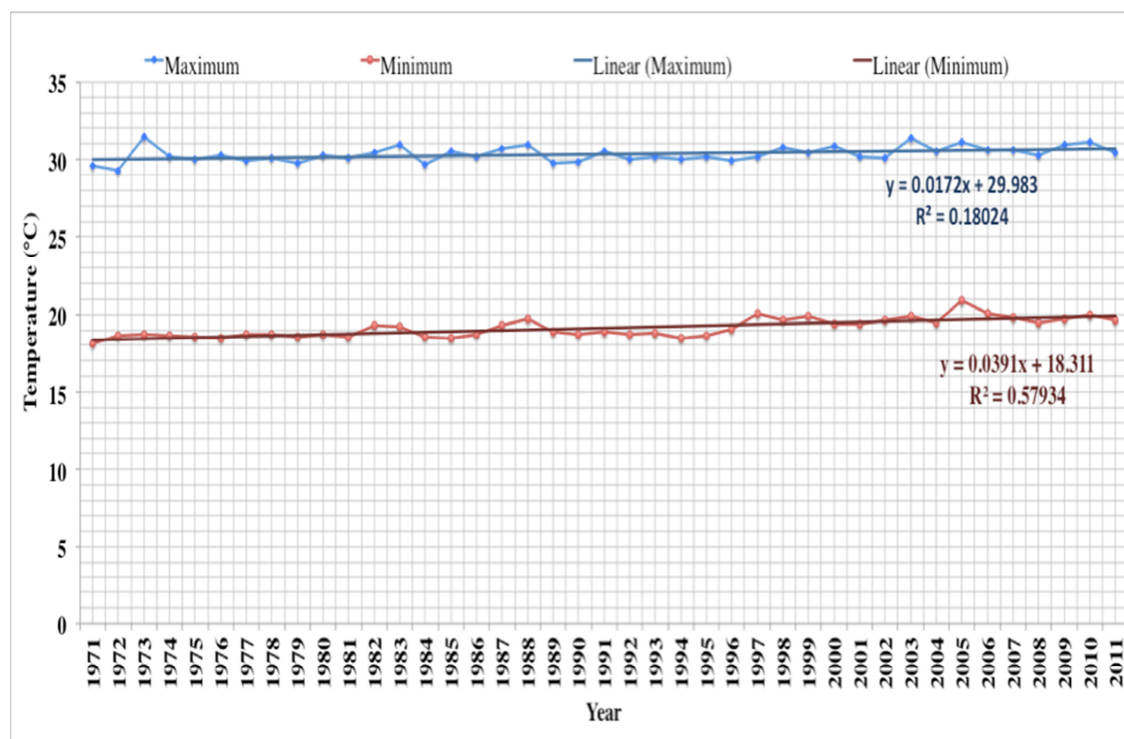
¹⁸⁶ Some of these countries include Cameroon, Kenya, Ethiopia, Senegal, Burkina Faso and Zambia.

adapt to climate change reported that; the local population believed that temperatures had increased and rainfall declined, and that the incidences of pests and vector-borne diseases have correspondingly increased in human, livestock and crops. Similarly, Majule et al. (2008), Mary and Majule (2009) reported the same results in the semi-arid areas of Tanzania. For instance, Mary and Majule observations indicated that that local people perceived changes in rainfall and temperature, and the changes have affected crops and livestock due to diseases outbreak into resulting in reduced productivity. Mushi (2013) also recorded local people's observations that variation in rainfall patterns led to frequent droughts and increasing incidences of floods. Yanda and Mubaya (2011) also reported the same.

5.4.2 Tanzania Meteorological Authority (TMA) Data

Officials from TMA confirmed that climate variability has been taking place in Morogoro region (Kilosa inclusive) over the last 40-50 years leading to temperatures fluctuation and changes in rainfall patterns with overall reduced rainfall. Figures 4 show mean maximum and minimum temperatures in the region from 1971-2011. Fluctuation with a slight rising is noted of around 0.7 and 1.5 degrees Celsius respectively (see Figure 4)

Figure 4: Morogoro Region annual minimum and maximum temperature patterns (1970-2011)



Source: Tanzania Meteorological Authority (2012)

Likewise, Table 5 compares temperatures in any given month with those 40 years previously. As may be seen, these are consistently higher in 2011 often by 2 or 3 degrees Celsius.

Figure 5: Monthly temperature patterns in Morogoro region (1971-2011)

| Year | Jan | Feb | Mar | Apr | May | Jun | Jul | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1971 | 20.7 | 20.3 | 20.2 | 20.1 | 17.9 | 14.7 | 15.7 | 14.4 | 16.5 | 16.8 | 19.5 | 20.7 |
| 2011 | 21.4 | 21.6 | 21.3 | 21.1 | 20.2 | 17.8 | 15.4 | 16.6 | 18.1 | 19.7 | 21.3 | 21.5 |

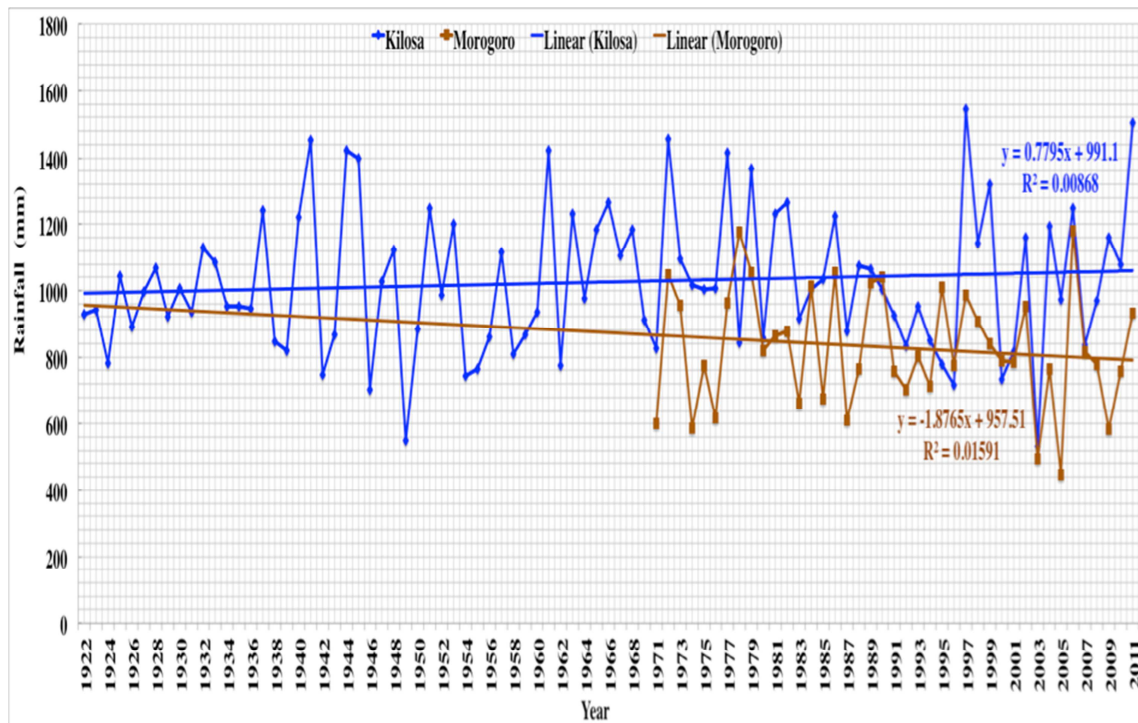
Source: Tanzania Meteorological Authority (2012)

Officials at TMA also confirmed that rainfall patterns in Morogoro region (figure 6, the red line) and Kilosa (figure 6, the blue line) in particular have been variable and declining overall over 50 years (see figure 6). For a period of over 30 years now, there have been frequent incidences of droughts and floods. For instance, between 1990 and 2000, five drought years have occurred (1992, 1996, 1997, 1999, and 2000). Late onset and early offset of rains has been common¹⁸⁷ and in relation to prolonged rainfall patterns it was noted that heavy rains have in some cases resulted in destructive flooding, particularly in 1998 with the El-Niño rains. In 2009 Kilosa was flooded again due to drainage from high rainfall in neighboring Singida and Dodoma region.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Interview with the TMA – Kilosa station official, 2012

¹⁸⁸ Interview with meteorological officials at Kilosa station

Figure 6: Annual rainfall patterns for Morogoro Region [1971-2011] and Kilosa District [1922-2011]



Source: Tanzania Meteorological Authority (2012)

In Figure 6 both trend lines [i.e blue and red] record a delayed onset in long rains which are normally expected to begin in February and continue until and including May, began as late as March or April. Rainfall patterns in Kilosa (as also reflected in figure 6) indicated varying trend of recorded rainfall. Low rainfall months [(June (4.7mm), July (4.2mm) and October (43.8mm)] in 2011 were consistently much drier than in 1961[January (42.9mm), May (37.3mm), June (13.7mm), August (21.8) while notable increase for this year was February (167.6mm), April (290.6mm), and November (309.6mm)].

This signifies also that expected rains came in 1961 but not in 2011. Blue line [figure 6] also shows a trend of decline in annual rainfall of 400mm from 1200mm to 800 mm, over the 50-year period. Highest rainfall was recorded in 1997 consistent with the El-Niño years when floods were experienced in Kilosa, but this was preceded by low

rainfall for almost 10 years. From 1997/1998, there has been variable but often very low rainfall, with the lowest years being 2003, 2005 and 2009.

To summarize, temperatures in Morogoro region [figure 4] have shown a mean increase in the last 40 years and rain [figure 6] has shown a mean decline in Morogoro and Kilosa, with more very dry years and indications of seasonal unpredictability in Kilosa, all indications of climate change.

5.4.3 Discussion

These observations second previous studies conducted within similar semi-arid parts of Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007; Mongi, Majule, and Lyimo, Vulnerability and adaptation of rain fed agriculture to climate change and variability in semi-arid Tanzania, 2010; Majule A. E., et al., 2008; Yanda and Mubaya, 2011), in Morogoro region (Paavola J. , 2008) and in Kilosa (Mushi V. , 2013). The report by the National Adaptation Programme of Action (URT, 2007) as well as the countrywide report by the Intergovernmental Panel of Climate Change in Tanzania¹⁸⁹ also notes climate change impacts, manifested by floods and rising temperatures (IPCC, 2007). The reports note that throughout the country especially during the cool months by 3.5 degrees Celsius while annual temperatures will increase between 2.1 degrees Celsius in the North Eastern parts (such as Kilimanjaro region) to 4 degrees Celsius in the Central and Western parts (Mbeya region) of the country. Moreover, the NAPA report also observed upward trend in monthly minimum and maximum temperatures over the last 30 years (between 1974 and 2004) in regions of Arusha, Bukoba, Dodoma, Iringa, Kilimanjaro, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mwanza, Songea, Tanga, Zanzibar and Shinyanga (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007). The increasing

¹⁸⁹ The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change was formed in 1988 by two United Nations organizations, the United Nations Environment Programme and the World Meteorological Organization, to assess the state of scientific knowledge about the human role in climate change and the National Adaptation Plan of Action of Tanzania (NAPA, 2007)

trend was mostly associated with the months of January, July and December. Yanda et al. (2008), in Zanzibar and Arusha, note that the mean minimum and maximum annual temperature has increased by 1.9 and 1.1 degrees Celsius respectively between 1961 and 2005 in Zanzibar and Arusha. Lastly, Paavoala (2008) looking at records since 1922 noted a total of 11 droughts over 36 years from 1971, as compared to 11 droughts over the longer period of 47 years from 1922. Such changes validate that global warming can be revealed even at local scales. Climatic projections by URT (2011) suggest that rainfall regimes will change, but the degree and even the direction of change vary across different models of the same area, with wide variations between seasons, regions and rainfall regimes (URT, 2011).

A floods assessment report (URT, 2010) concurred that Kilosa has been experiencing several incidences of floods between 1940s and 2010. The report noted that, the first recorded incidence of flood was in 1945. Due to its fatal effects, the British colonial government built 2 dams: Gombo dam (holding 50 million cubic meters) and Kimagai dam (holding 60 million cubic meters), and an 8-kilometer ridge to manage water flows. In 1959 the Kimagai dam collapsed due to heavy rain and in 1964, heavy rains led into overflows of the Mkondoa River, causing damage to property and infrastructure in Kilosa town. In 1998 due to 'El-Niño' rains, Kidete dam that was built in 1945 the British colonial government and the ridge (embankment) which had managed water flows collapsed completely. Since then floods have been taking place regularly, but the floods which occurred between 26th and 31st December, 2009 were the most serious on record, severely affecting eight wards,¹⁹⁰ owing in a large part to the collapse of the water management system from previous years. Further, a total of 107 mm of rainfall over 24 hours was recorded in Dodoma, the highest ever for the past 67 years, leading to a flow rate of 200,000 liters per second, while the river is only able to contain a flow of 50,000 liters per second. Therefore on the 12th of January 2010 due to segmentation of Mkondoa River, floods caused serious destruction of 1,790 farms, infrastructural

¹⁹⁰ Magomeni, Kasiki, Mbumi, Mkwatani, Mabwerebwere, Chanzuru, Kimamba A and Kimamba B

facilities, human settlement and properties in Kilosa particularly in Magole, Dumila, Chakwale and Berega wards leading to displacement of 23,980 people.¹⁹¹

As suggested by interviews in Kilosa, the trends bring shocks to the pastoral livestock economy through a variety of mechanisms, such as reduced production, parasitic infestations and livestock disease outbreaks and shrinkage of grazing land either from droughts or floods. Paavoala (2008) noted in Morogoro region that a mean temperature rise and changes in rainfall patterns have affected livelihoods of farmers, since with warmer temperatures plants and pasture require more water to grow and survive. IPCC (2007) projected that; semi- arid areas where heat is already a limiting factor of production will bear the most brunt in production. Nicholson concur that increased temperature impacts on performance of crops as well as vegetation in genera (Nicholson, 2001).

Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe also reported that, drought weakens the pastoral cattle economy and equate it to a disintegrating livelihood (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, Poverty and Changing Livelihoods of Migrant Maasai Pastoralists in Morogoro and Kilosa Districts, Tanzania, 2003). Other authors in the Greater Horn of Africa (Mkutu, 2001) and Tanzania (Mushi, 2013) also reports similar drought impacts on pastoral livelihoods. Various authors have also linked these climatic changes to increase in heat stress within the semi-arid areas of Tanzania. For instance, scholars such as Paavoala (2008) argue that, heat stress¹⁹² negatively impacts a range of productive parameters such as milk yield, growth, reproduction, and body traits of livestock. In addition, heat load increases healthcare costs and animals can succumb to harsh thermal stress (specially lactating calves). Mongi *et al.* (2010) describe moisture and heat stress leading to an increase in insects and pests that bring disease. The increase in disease

¹⁹¹ United Republic of Tanzania (2010b) Tathmini ya Maafa Yaliyosababishwa na Mafuriko Wilayani Kilosa, Mkoani Morogoro

¹⁹² This is the point at which an animal cannot dissipate an adequate quantity of heat to maintain body temperature

such as malaria is also noted to result from a trend of rising temperatures (Majule, et al., 2008). In the same vein, the detrimental effects of climate related heat stress on animal welfare and production are also argued to likely become more of an issue in the future if the Earth's climate continues to warm as some predict (IPCC, 2007; Bernabucci, Lacetera, Baumgard, Rhoads, Ronch, and Nardone, 2010).

In summary, there is direct evidence of climate change in Kilosa in the form of raising temperatures, increased droughts, unpredictable rains and increasing incidences of flooding, bringing detrimental effects and shocks to pastoral production systems, livelihoods and lives.

This work however, departs from other authors who have focused on climate change alone (Paavola, 2008; Mushi, 2013) by arguing that lack of appropriate management of the said climate change by the State has exacerbated the situation, such that climate issues in Kilosa are also governance issues. The colonial government had in place an infrastructure to manage floods and drought (1945), however when the system began to collapse [The *Kimagai* and *Gombo* dams collapsed in 1959], even though the British colonial government was still in Tanzania (then Tanganyika), they did not repair the dams before their departure. Moreover, the post-colonial government (*then Tanganyika*) also did not repair the collapsing system; perhaps they did not see the need during that given time. If one must recall back in 1961 when Tanzania (then Tanganyika) became independent in 1961, the newly sovereign State experienced several bottlenecks in building and managing the state – economic development, education, medical services, and civil services among others. During that time, Tanzania did not have enough qualified human capital to provide much-needed high-level human resources to build and run the young independent nation (Che-Mponda, 1984; Mwakikagile, 2006).

For instance, by 1961, Tanganyika had only a total of 120 African university graduates in the country – including two lawyers, two engineers and twelve medical doctors, in a country with the size of Texas, Oklahoma and West Virginia combined (Mwakikagile, 2006). Faced with such circumstances, by 1967, six years after Tanzania's independence,

the first president, *Mwalimu*¹⁹³ Julius Kambarage Nyerere, knew enough about the challenges of nation building facing a poor, postcolonial African country like his (Mkapa, 2008). Mwalimu among other things devoted to invest in local population by building human development, particularly human resource capacity and skills development, and sheer hard work (Mkapa, 2008, p. 19). This move went hand in hand with a gradual Africanization programme that aims at transforming the civil services (Che- Mponda, 1984). In this regard, expansion and maintenance of the existing drainage and water management system in this context were not of the top priority; even the professional personnel to engage in the task as noted early were not adequate to handle technical issues in the entire country including Kilosa district. These circumstances in an overall contribute to its collapse and exacerbated the situations.

The recurring floods in Kilosa should not only be attributed to the changing climatic conditions in the area, but also to its topographical conditions as lowland area as well as governance related issues. As far as the topographical conditions of Kilosa is concerned, the district has a flat and undulating plains extending as flat hills to the west of the district. The Wami, Mkata, and Ruaha rivers dissect these plains, with poorly drained, black clay in the central and southern flood plains (KDC, 2010).

These conditions of the plains that are mainly occupied by Maasai pastoralists frequently subjected to seasonal floods effects. Absence of adequate and proper drainage and water management systems in the area and other neighboring regions are part of the blame. If one can cite the rains which occurred in 2009 in Kilosa for instance, which resulted into flooding in Kasiki, Mbumi, Mkwatani, Magomeni, Mabwerebwere, Chanzuru and Kimamba wards in Kilosa, although there were no much rains at that particular time in the district in comparison to other years [1982 (105mm); 1997 (140mm); 1999 (110mm); and 2011(137mm) of rains in record as reflected in figure 4]. The flood water was reported to emanate from the heavy rains from Dodoma and Singida regions, which made existing dams [Kimagai and Gombo in Kidete areas] to be

¹⁹³ The term *mwalimu* literally means 'the teacher'.

filled with heavy mud/ sand and eventually collapsing (URT, 2010). This suggests that, the problem of floods in Kilosa is not just of climate, but also linked to policy; governance related issue linked to the failure of the governance structures to manage drainage and water system in the country, including Kilosa. Climate is used as a scapegoat to empower and justify political agendas and its impacts on people's livelihoods and the entire district, but at the end of the day, economic and human welfare, particularly of women whose livelihoods are attached to climate dependent resources suffers.

That is why Lambordg (2001) views climate change debates as a phantom of exaggeration, which may affect economic and human welfare because more resources will be unnecessarily diverted to climate, change mitigation and adaptation rather than human welfare development. In view of the above, I argue that, recurring incidences of floods in Kilosa may not just be about climate change, but rather more of climate-change caused scenarios and thus climate change factor is just exacerbating the already existing weakness at the governance level. Drought mitigation is also an area amenable to policy to manage both human and livestock activities in Kilosa. Currently however, pastoral migrations into Kilosa as the subsequent paragraph elaborates have become a chronic issue, which in the end exacerbates local resource conflicts in the area.

5.4.4 Experiences of Climate Change and Conflicts

An influx of migrants into new areas can be a significant factor in conflict (Barnett and Adger, 2007). Yanda and Mubaya (2011) wrote that migration has always been a possible coping strategy for pastoralists in Tabora, Dodoma, Rukwa, and southern parts of Mbeya, which has been linked to conflicts (Yanda and Mubaya, 2011). Within Kilosa district, scholars such as Beidelman (1960) and Maganga *et al.*, (2007) describe how the immigration of Baraguyu into Kilosa in the 1890s was highly resisted by the Gogos, Sagaras, Kaguru, and the Nguu ethnic groups consequently resulting into conflicts (Beidelman, 1960; Maganga, Odgaard, and Sjaastad, 2007).

In Kilosa, drought induced pastoral migration into the district is linked to conflicts as a district land officer explained,

Drought incidences across the country are increasingly making our district a center for the migrating population, resulting in conflicts. Movement of pastoralists with their cattle is not new, but what is new is that the rate of immigration is increasing as dry season is prolonged and pasture is lost in other parts of Morogoro, Shinyanga, Dodoma, and Iringa.¹⁹⁴

District security officials concurred that, unregulated movement of people and livestock to the district is increasingly common, and that of late it has taken three distinct strategies: firstly, some are simply moving in forcefully to occupy land; secondly, some are coming to a social arrangement with existing occupiers; and thirdly, some are bribing unethical local leaders to be given access as will be explained.¹⁹⁵

With the *first* strategy of simply moving in forcefully to occupy pastureland, district security officials noted that, it often resulted into open fighting in the receiving areas between pastoralists and farmers. He also noted that, this strategy has become part of the common strategy in use by pastoralist especially when their access to water and pasture is denied by the farmers or the agro-pastoralists.¹⁹⁶

A district land officer confirmed, “When pastoralists see that their livelihoods are at stake as prolonged drought dries away water and pasture, destitutions threatens and forces them to move to new locations, and even turn violent against the other community in the receiving areas until they get water and food for their livestock”.¹⁹⁷

We came from Manyara many years after facing shortage of water and pasture for the livestock there. When we came here we were able to get land and settled

¹⁹⁴ Interview with the district land officer, October 20th, 2010

¹⁹⁵ FGD with security officials in the district October 19th, 2010

¹⁹⁶ FGD with security officials in the district 19th, October, 2010

¹⁹⁷ Interview with the district land officer 19th, October, 2010

together with our cattle. As time went by, pasture size began to diminish as people were increasingly coming and establishing farms, while at the same time, pastoralists with their cattle were also coming. Likewise, our livestock were also reproducing and this also made the situation worse. As the grazing land became smaller, we sometimes ended up fighting with cropland owners who were the original land proprietor.¹⁹⁸

Increase dry spells in semi-arid areas of Tanzania has resulted into migration of pastoral communities to Kilosa, consequently resulting into resource scarcity and conflicts as explained and discussed in chapter four. The warriors confirmed that, their cattle couldn't die from hunger while they are still alive; instead they must move until where pasture and water is available. They stated that they would 'rather die in the process of feeding the cattle, or be asked to pay fine, than watching them dying from hunger.'¹⁹⁹The issue of stock numbers is also discussed below.

With the *second* strategy, pastoralists have been making use of their social institutions [clans and territorial systems] to support immigration of those affected by drought to Kilosa. The arranged migration causes so much strife that it weakens the 'friendship'. Surprisingly, the invitation is in most cases done without considering land size availability, stocking rate, human population, but rather the invitation by the pastoralists to their fellow pastoralists is more culturally bound than resource size they noted.²⁰⁰As a district official enlightened and confirmed,

Due to strong communal ties that exist among the Maasai, it is not possible for one to be refused settlement or even be brought before the law by their

¹⁹⁸ Interview with an elder in Parakuyo, 18th 2012

¹⁹⁹ FGD with Maasai warriors in Parakuyo, August, 28th 2012

²⁰⁰ Focus group discussions with district security officials, Kilosa, October 19th, 2010

fellowmen for intruding to the village. To Maasai land size seems to be not an issue, what matter is to assist one another during crisis.²⁰¹

An elder confirmed,

Resources are communally shared among section and clan members, and during crisis each member has the obligation to support the other members. *Morans* are in charge of scouting for new areas for pasture and water...and they do this by communicating with fellow clansmen in other parts of the country...we can even migrate up to Arusha and Manyara and even Kenya where fellow Parakuyo are and settle especially when it is very dry. When our forefathers moved to Kilosa many years ago, they came from Manyara and other parts of northern Tanzania²⁰²

The impact of pastoral social institutions in facilitating pastoral mobility has also been observed among the pastoralists of Maasai Mara, the Kitengela plains, the Amboseli, and the Simanjiro plains in Kenya and Tanzania respectively (Nkedianye, et al., 2011).

With the *third* strategy, corruption is used by pastoralists as a tool to get access to land for their livestock, and this in the end accelerated migration, resource competition and boils into conflicts. A district official explained,

It is not drought that causes conflicts in Kilosa, but rather it is corruption. We have some leaders who are unethical. They accept small string-pulling items such as goats, meat, milk, cash from immigrants as bribes in exchange for land allocation and temporary settlement permits without involving all villagers in decision making regarding the allocation or reallocation of land...for example, pastoralists were allowed to inhabit in Tindiga and Magomeni hamlets by village

²⁰¹ Interview with the district land officer, October 20th, 2010

²⁰² Interview with the elder in Kiduhi in September 18th, 2012

governments without formal permission that would have involved other village communities from respective sub-villages who share borders as the Village Act requires them too. These corrupt behaviors have usually resulted into conflict²⁰³

Another official confirmed,

Unethical leaders are central to this influx and illegal settlement of people. Some officials in the security office are also corrupt as well. Farmers have been complaining that, whenever they report an issue to the police, justice is usually delayed and even denied. Because the pastoralists are wealthy, they will quickly sell one or two of their cattle and bribe. The next thing is the disappearing of files at the police. In the end, it boils into conflicts.²⁰⁴

The impact of corruption and rent seeking in providing land access and instigating conflicts has also been observed among the pastoralists in the Sahel (Benjaminsen , Alinon, Buhaug, and Buseth, 2012). These results challenge theoretical argument that, climate change is directly related to conflict. Drought has been one of the most serious challenge facing pastoralists in Kilosa and access to land and water are often the cause of conflict between pastoralists, farmers, and investors. A woman explained,

Water is increasingly a problem in Kilosa, and an increase in number of irrigation schemes and prolonged droughts is exacerbating this crisis. With droughts, the rivers, wells and streams are drying, leaving the population and livestock without an assured source of water let alone clean water.²⁰⁵

An elder confirmed,

²⁰³ Interview with District administrative secretary, Kilosa, October 20th, 2010

²⁰⁴ Interview with District Land officer, Kilosa, October 11th, 2012

²⁰⁵ Interview with pastoralist woman in Parakuyo sub-village, October 10th, 2012

Conflicts are caused by shortage of water. The rains have become unpredictable as a result the rivers and streams that used to supply water throughout the year, some of them have completely dried up. The wells, which we used to turn into them most of them, are also deteriorating in capacity in comparison with the number of cattle and population in use. The only choice is to take the cattle to the wetlands for water. This is where conflicts start because farmers have also moved in and even blocked the stock routes with their farms. As we scramble to access water from the rivers, our cattle may end up trampling on the crops, this in the end boils into conflicts²⁰⁶

A district official confirmed this,

Drought is increasingly prolonged and pastoralists are finding it difficult to cope with the dwindling water supplies in their traditional areas, yet they cannot wait and watch their livestock die but move towards water. And this is where conflicts arise with farmers who have also moved in to grow vegetables, paddy and many other crops.²⁰⁷

The impacts of drought to pastoralists have also been observed in other pastoral areas such as amongst the Turkana (Lamphear, 1992; Mkutu, 2001; 2008), Pokots (Opiyo, Wasonga, Schilling, and Mureithi, 2012) and Karamajong (Mkutu, 2008). Hoste and Vlassenroot (2009) for example found that, due to climate change, pastoralists in the Ilemi Triangle²⁰⁸ were forced to cross over into each other's grazing grounds thereby disrupting the traditional co-existence and resorting to armed conflicts. In the same vein, Mushi (2013) also observed impacts of droughts to Maasai pastoralist

²⁰⁶ Interview with the Maasai elder in Mabwegere village, 21st, October, 2012

²⁰⁷ Interview with the district agricultural and livestock officer, October, 2012

²⁰⁸ The Ilemi Triangle is disputed land area in Eastern Africa [approximately 400 kilometers,] that exists in a triangular radius, that seats where the border of south-eastern Sudan joins with north-western Kenya and south-western Ethiopia (Hoste and Vlassenroot, 2009).

communities in Kilosa particularly in relation to the declining access and availability of water for domestic, livestock and watering of farms. Climate change leads to increasing frequency of extreme weather events evident in the country. High rainfall, due to climate variability, is a significant cause of floods. For example, extreme rainfall of 2009/2010 led to floods that displaced hundreds of people and their properties as explained earlier (URT, 2010). However, as noted early in this chapter, flood and drought issues in Kilosa are also a governance related issue.

A direct link in time between droughts and conflicts is not consistent however. In 2010, the amount of rainfall recorded in Kilosa was much higher in comparison to other years, but still conflicts occurred between pastoralists and farmers resulting in loss of lives and properties, displacement, and despite the pastoral eviction exercise “*Operation Kilosa*” in the preceding year. A comparative analysis of dry and wet seasons reveal that conflicts occurred in both (see figure 4, 6 and appendix 1). Thus drought is not only one factor behind the conflicts in Kilosa, but also rather one among a myriad of factors including governance.

Climate change has been referred to as a ‘threat multiplier’ that makes existing concerns such as policies that frame access to and use of land, food insecurity, water scarcity and conflicts - more complex and intractable (Hoste and Vlassenroot, 2010). This suffice to say that climatic shocks alone do not cause conflict, but rather presence of factors such as levels of inequalities and poor governance that already have the hallmarks of conflict risk before the disaster struck (Righarts, 2009, p. 11). Hoste and Vlassenroot (2009) found that a multitude of factors contribute to pastoral conflicts in Sudan, Kenya and Ethiopia. Similar results were also observed in other studies on pastoral areas such as that of Opiyo et al., (2012) in Kenya and Benjaminsen et al., (2012) in Sahel (Mali and Niger), where they found that, there is no direct link between climate change and violent conflicts. Conflicts were not directly caused by climate, but rather by corruption, rent seeking behavior of politicians, and land encroachment restricting the movement of nomads.

Thus, blaming for instance on the pastoral migrations to and within Kilosa as instigated by climate change and also a cause/ source of conflicts leaves conflict issues in Kilosa unattended. In my view, the pastoral migrations to and within Kilosa even though it can be due to prolonged drought, it is not by itself instigating conflicts. But rather, conflicts are also caused by web of political and institutional factors, of which migration is just one of them. Lack of infrastructural facilities to support pastoral livelihoods such as water for livestock use, vast pasture land, and clear stock routes does instigate these conflicts as noted early in chapter 4 of this thesis. Pastoral issues are governance issues (Mkutu, 2008). Likewise, it is not only the Maasai pastoralists who migrate to Kilosa, but rather there are other ethnic groups engaging in crop farming who are also migrating to the district. This is reflected in the manner in which human population has been on the increase from 1960s to date.

5.4.5 Politicization of Climate Change Debate

Pastoralists complained that state decisions that have previously been used to victimize pastoralism through individualization of land are now born again in the mask of tackling climate change.²⁰⁹ Climate solutions under 'green investments' in agriculture, they note are used as a cover to justify, promote, and accelerate land grabs by the political elite, farmers and large scale investors on the basis of a claim that pastoralism degrades land and contributes to erratic weather events including prolonged droughts and floods in Kilosa.²¹⁰ An elder explained,

The government is using Kilimo Kwanza and drought as an excuse to take our land and give to investors and themselves at our expense. We have been living in this area for many years. Some have been here since the 1950s, now the government is branding us invaders just to please the powerful politicians who are wearing the mask of investors. If it is about investment, why were we refused

²⁰⁹ FGDs with pastoralists in Ngaiti and Mabwegere villages, October, 2010

²¹⁰ FGD held in Ngaiti and Mabwegere, October, 2010

to invest in this land? They gave the land to themselves including Mahenda, the Sukuma pastoralists. We no longer have enough grazing land as most of the land we would use during dry seasons is in the hands of investors. The various policies and decisions of the government are turning us into refugees in our own land.²¹¹

As noted in chapter 3 and 4 of this thesis, the different policies and laws established in the aftermath of land reforms in Tanzania, particularly the economic liberalization in the late 1990s govern the land acquisition process, have set a complex and locally contested procedure that in practice accords a higher priority to investors and farmers (over pastoralists) and men (over women). This creates tension on several fronts, as people struggle to adapt to changing climatic conditions. A sub-village chairperson in Ngaiti also confirmed,

We are treated as a primitive, destructive and unproductive land users contributing to land degradation and erosion and drought in Kilosa. This is not true. The government itself caused land degradation in Twatwatwa when they forced us to settle in one area and do away with our mobile techniques. We adhered to their order, but they were never there to support us through the process as a result, the land is no longer useful, forcing us to move our cattle to new areas far from the village. If you look at the Ngaiti issue, we are treated as intruders and asked to move from the land, and pave way to large-scale land investments. And when we wanted to have the land as investors, the procedures outsmarted us. As a result a large portion of the land was allocated to the politicians, investors, some of whom are livestock keepers from other ethnic origins.²¹²

²¹¹ Interview with a pastoral woman in Ngaiti sub-village, October 23rd, 2010

²¹² Interview with sub-village chairperson in Ngaiti

These opinions corroborate a theoretical argument of the critical model as indicated in the introductory section of this chapter. The model argues that, that placed concerns over climate change and conflicts are mere platforms that serve a political purpose aiming at de-emphasize other important causes of conflicts in order to empower political agendas, at the expense of undermining certain forms of development assistance to vulnerable nations and local communities (Faris S. , 2007; Kevane and Gray, 2008; Hartmann , 2010).

When the community believes rightly or wrongly that state decisions are being used as a tool to suppress their livelihoods, it destroys trust and makes mitigation of conflicts complex and more difficult. Promoting large scale farming at an expense of small land holders including pastoralism as part of climate solutions in Kilosa does not support the traditional adaptive capacity of the Maasai pastoralists, nor does it provide drive for conflict-sensitivity in climate change adaptation. Rather, it tend to diverge the focus on understanding the existing differentiation in social vulnerabilities to climate change impacts, building local adaptive capacity and also local means of addressing conflict to affected people. The new market-based policies in Africa seem rather to create more incentives for large agribusiness to acquire land, which adds new threats to the livelihoods of pastoralists and in the words of Action-aid creates a “*triple injustice*” for women (Actionaid, 2011).

5.5 Gender Related Issues

Livelihood systems are overwhelmed by an unprecedented combination of climate change related events, and land-use change, and over-exploitation of water resources. However, the complexity of the climate change picture extends also to its gender differentiated impact, by exacerbating the existing problem of resource access faced by pastoral women. Women in Kiduhi and Twatwatwa villages explained that drought and unpredictable rainfall has affected pasture regeneration and water availability for livestock and human consumptions, while land loss and fragmentation has limited mobility, which would have mitigated this problem. This situation has forced their

livelihoods to undergo transformation.²¹³ A woman expressed that: 'Drought has become a pain in our neck, rupturing our entire livelihood system'.²¹⁴ Income losses from climate impact may affect men and women differently in terms of the financial and social capital (Goh, 2012). One woman's story illustrates the multitude of factors, including climate change but also conflict and land loss, which had over time, impacted on pastoral lifestyles and that this had a particular impact on her and fellow women.

Traditionally, we used to manage droughts through seasonal migration. During droughts, the whole family including livestock, women, children and properties would also move. However, increasingly, this is becoming hard...Prolonged drought and increase in farm fields have resulted in the loss of access to dry season pasture. Consequently, our traditional systems of resource management have started melting and for some they have already collapsed... Keeping large herds is no longer possible because we are no longer mobiles with our cattle as before... when we are forced to move, we ended up into conflicts with others and even losing our cattle and our own lives as happened some years ago. In some pastoral areas like Twatwatwa village, pastoralists were forced to settle and this has resulted into overgrazing and the soil is no longer able to allow pasture growth as before... as of now, cattle have been relocated to other areas far from Parakuyo...Only the herders and the livestock will move, while the women and children remain behind at home and shoulder domestic chores which include looking after the children, in - charge of food, building and maintenance of Manyatta, and the remaining livestock including their treatments.²¹⁵

The situation of women and men in pastoral communities is not static, as drought occurrences have led to transformation and reorganization of the existing gender

²¹³ FGD held in Kiduhi and Twatwatwa villages, 12th November, 2012

²¹⁴ Anna Oloishuro, Twatwatwa village, 10th November, 2012

²¹⁵ Interview with a Maasai elder at Kiduhi, October, 2012

relations of Maasai pastoral societies. Women are increasingly forced to head households on top of their full-time children and livestock caring roles as men are relocating to new places with cattle. This situation, which place women in a more vulnerable edge because of the poor customary rights to land, wells and livestock accorded to them. Thus, in the absence of men, they are unable to decide on the use and dispose of the livestock for instance, even when money is required out of the sale to cutter for food costs or treatment of children and cattle. The drought- induced changing nature of the existing gender relations among pastoral societies has also been observed among the Turkana pastoralists in Kenya (Omolo, 2010). It is a finding similar to where Mushi (2013) found that, climatic shocks including drought is contributing to the breakdown of pastoral livelihoods and they are forced to diversify where men are opting for employment sector in urban areas, while some migrates with their cattle in search for new areas for pasture and water. This situation leaves women behind to shoulder household chores including men's role like heading the households, yet without a voice to decide on the stocks they care for.

Selling of animals has been a dominant strategy adopted by the Maasai to cope with the droughts, and immediately when crisis ended, they would increase the herd size. However, with unpredictable climate, pastoralists are forced to sell their cattle and some without a hope to regain them again. Community members in Kiduhi and Twatwatwa [Parakuyo sub-village] villages noted that some are selling all the cattle and migrating to urban areas in search of paid jobs while others keep their cattle in the remaining marginal lands and during crisis they sell cheaply to cater for survival needs.²¹⁶ Wealthier Maasai have sold off their cattle and used the money to build modern commercial guesthouses or buy trucks, buses motorcycles and cars when are then used to generate income.²¹⁷ As respondent revealed:

²¹⁶ FGD with women held in Parakuyo and Kiduhi villages, October, 2012

²¹⁷ Observations during field work activities

I sold my cattle and bought a motorcycle, and I am using it as source of income. I only left very small amount of cattle for milk and meat, and my wife is looking after them in the village. At least now, now I don't have to worry much about drought and even floods, because am at least sure of getting money to buy food and family needs. I sometimes use my motorcycle to collect water, especially on my way back home. I usually take with me some water gallons particularly during prolonged dry season where water becomes scarce.²¹⁸

The above opinions suggest that, as the traditional resource management system of Maasai pastoralists is collapsing, Maasai are resorting to alternative livelihood activities as a way to cope with dwindling resources. The better-off households typically sell assets and invest in order to maintain their consumption when facing shocks (Giesbert and Schindler, 2010). In such a situation women are increasingly venturing into income generating activities and other new roles to cope with the changes and ensure survival of the children and the family. A shift in migration patterns has also occurred where some women are now part of the city migrants in order to make a living. An elderly woman explained,

We are left in a very difficult situation. We are the ones in charge of food preparation, boiling water for the children, and care for the livestock in their absence or presence. Yet, we do not have a broader pool of resources to pool from ...imagine, I have this few cattle, but I have no power to sell them and get money to buy food, pay school fees and hospital bills... you cannot even decide to slaughter one cattle for food, unless permitted by the husband or in-laws or clansmen in the absence of our husbands. In all these roles, water and firewood are important and unfortunately are climate related. In drought incidences, we

²¹⁸ Interview with motorcycle owner in Parakuyo sub-village, October 5th, 2012

end up spending more and more time on them, which in the end deny us the right to rest and even take part in finding ways to cope with shocks.²¹⁹

The secondary position to resources makes women more vulnerable to loss of even the resources she toiled for, as she has no say or power over them. Another pastoral woman concurred,

Due to increase in pasture and water loss, my husband took some of the cattle and moved to Lindi in 2005. I was left alone with few cattle and goats...cattle herding is not easy in the absence of water and pastures... and still I have to fetch water and fuel before I can even think of preparing Ugali for the children. The cattle do not even provide enough milk...I cannot even sell one to cater for the expenses...our customs place our men in ownership and decision over livestock, and we are just caretakers. I am not sure what happens if drought is prolonged, and I fail to have enough milk to give my children and even for sell ²²⁰

Several women confirmed that they are alone in taking on herding and other men's roles on top of their daily roles such as food preparation, managing children and livestock and other household chores. As drought increases the fear of not being able to provide is high.²²¹ It is a finding replicated in other pastoral societies such as Nigeria (Agwu and Okhimamhe, 2009), Turkana pastoralists (Mkutu , 2008; Omolo, 2010), where women were found to be left alone to care for the households as men migrated when climatic shocks occurred. Likewise, Mushi (2013) observes that drought is making women more vulnerable in their role at home caring for the family. In the course of climatic shocks, women often become direct victims due to their role in the home, which does not allow them to leave children alone, or their role as household managers when

²¹⁹ Interview with Mama Theresia Mapindu, Mabwegere village, October 20th, 2010

²²⁰ Interview with a pastoral woman in Kiduhi, October 23rd, 2012

²²¹ FGD with women held in Kiduhi and Mabwegere

men migrate or are killed in conflicts (Neumayer and Plümper, 2007; Roberts, 2009; Dankelman , 2010; Dankelman, Alam, Ahmed, Gueye, Fatema, and Mensah-Kutin, 2008).

Getting water and fuel is increasingly become an issue and an extra burden on women.

Increasingly these roles are burdening us, as drought and land degradation make water, trees, firewood and other sources we used to fetch easily for energy generation are becoming scarcer. Drought has made rivers, streams and wells to dry. The few rivers that have water and could have supplied us with water are no longer easily accessible to us... investors and other farmers are using them for irrigation as a result we do not have water. We are now forced to walk longer distances to fetch water. Sometimes our men will pay money in order to have access to the streams and water... but this opportunity is disappearing, because incomes they used to get from cattle is no longer predictable as number of cattle is also reduced due to loss of pasture... There is no way we can escape this duty for it is our role...²²²

Due to drought, more time that usual is spent to fetch water, firewood, and collecting grass for household use and for sale, at the same time, women are increasingly involved in livestock herding (Aregu and Belete, 2007).

Another woman also lamented,

Fetching water is becoming harder... sometimes we have to let the children not attending school to assist in fetching water and firewood. The usual areas have been fenced and in some areas the wood that we used to easily pick by even sending the children are no longer available. Sometimes we are forced to buy

²²² Interview with Mama Theresia Mapindu, Mabwegere village, October 20th, 2010

wood particularly in wet seasons. Given the loss of income we used to get from milk, it is even extra harder to pay for the wood...²²³

The loss of income from milk was noted to be because (as noted in chapter 4) often cattle are no longer accessible to them as before as men are increasingly in charge of the milk business and in some households, the cattle have been relocated to new destinations.²²⁴ Dankelman et al., (2008) found similar results in Senegal, and Ashber (2010) found similar results in Ethiopia, where women due to their role as water collectors in the household had to travel farther in water collection tasks than men, thus affecting their adaptive capacity to droughts. This supports the theoretical argument that climate change impacts are gender differentiated.

5.5.1 Access to Resources

The secondary position women have when it comes to access to and control of household resources is intensifying their vulnerable position, and complicating their adaptive capacity to climatic shocks. In Kiduhi, one elderly woman explained her limited rights to access, but how recent changes had robbed her of even these rights.

” When I got married, I automatically receive the right to use matrimonial properties including land for water and firewood collection and herding. Such right gave me also the right to be supported by the relatives from my husband clan... however; this link is no longer forthcoming. Ever since my husband died the man who inherited me sold all the cattle and moves to the city and left me without any help. Life is becoming very hard, my elders and fellow women have been trying to support me but with hardships on their side they are increasingly unable to support my children and me....²²⁵”

²²³ Interview with a woman in Parakuyo sub-village, October 5th, 2012

²²⁴ FGD with women held at Kiduhi, Ngaiti and Parakuyo, October, 2012

²²⁵ Interview with an elderly woman in Kiduhi, September 10th, 2012

Drought and conflicts have eroded the traditional social network and even the limited access that women have had.²²⁶ This finding is replicated among the Turkana pastoralists in Kenya, where Omolo (2010) found that, women adaptive capacity to droughts and conflicts is affected by the secondary position they have over land, livestock and other resources. The fewer assets and rights women usually have, the more vulnerable they are to loss of these assets and rights during separation, divorce, or widowhood, and the less likely they are to have less access to capital, extension, inputs, and resources for agricultural production (Goh, 2012). Olson et al., (2011) and Goh (2012) maintains that, for women in pastoral communities to acquire and access livestock and land; careful negotiation and a deliberate attempt to meet with women in their spaces and at the convenience of the patriarchal dominated structures within which the women lives is required.

As noted, in addition to climatic shocks, widowhood, and separation are factors in making women more vulnerable,

My husband died in 1995 and left me with 3 children, 100 cattle and several goats. However I was later inherited and gave birth to another 2 children. In 2005, due to loss of pasture, my husband moved away with cattle and my co-wife, younger than me. He only left me with 1 milking cow, which was ill, the calves and few goats. I remained in the village without milking cows that could provide food for my children, especially the one who was left at the age of two years, and the other one at the age of four years. I have not heard from him ever since he left and I am not sure of where he might be...²²⁷

Another woman concurred: “My husband fled to Iringa region with another woman and the cattle, and left me with the children and my in-laws. I have not heard from him since

²²⁶ FGD with women in Kiduhi, Parakuyo and Ngaiti, October, 2010

²²⁷ Interview with Natalia in Ngaiti sub-village, October 25th, 2010

1998. It has been a very complex situation for me and the children...I have nothing, even cattle, to have milk from..."²²⁸.

It is no doubt that, in the context of climate change, access to and control of assets can be particularly important for the poor including women, where assets such as secure land and water rights, agricultural technologies, livestock, knowledge, and social capital can help individuals and households adapt to increasing variability of production (Goh, 2012). Among the Boran pastoralists of Northern Kenya, Eberle (2011) found that, the livelihood of women including widows is increasingly at risk in the face of climatic stress. Similar results were also observed in Mexico, where prolonged drought caused the greatest economic stress to unmarried and widowed women with children (Biskup and Boellstorf, 1995).

5.5.2 Income Generating Activities

Climate distress and changed gender relations are also pushing women into finding diversified income generating activities. These includes such as bead works, charcoal production, and food vending and trading. As one woman explained, "Beading has been every woman's art, learned from childhood. Since everyone knew it, it never used to be a means of earning money. But now it is as some do not even know how to make them".²²⁹

Further traditional beadwork is transforming into different styles in order to sell.

Due to increasing stress in their livelihoods...women have out of their own initiatives sought new skills and knowledge to assist in income generation. Following the death of my husband in 1998, life became very hard. I could hardly feed my children let alone myself. In 2001, I moved to Dar es Salaam to seek paid

²²⁸ Interview with Esther, Parakuyo sub-village, October 18th, 2010

²²⁹ Interview, Esta Labani, Parakuyo, October 18th, 2010

jobs. While in Dar es Salaam, I learned to make beads, earrings and other types of ornaments from the Swahili women... their shops are located in Masaki area. What we made we could sell for the tourists and local people. In 2009, I returned to Parakuyo to look after my children²³⁰

Learning to make and sell non-Maasai foods is another strategy as Anna explained; I have a small restaurant and a shop where I do serve different meals from breakfast to dinner. Apart from selling Ugali, I do also prepare rice, beef, maandazi,²³¹ and tea²³². Esther also concurred by sharing her own case, “Being in Dar es Salaam, I learned how to make maandazi, chapatti, and pilau. I am currently running a small canteen where I sell food, and I also make beads for sale. I use the income to buy food and other basic necessities such as clothing, and cover for hospital and school expenses for my children and my relatives with whom I live”.²³³

Climate change is seen as an influencing factor in migration decisions, where single mothers like Esther are forced to migrate to the cities in search for alternative livelihoods after losing power to provide food for the family. This result replicates a study by Jungehülsing who found in Chiapas, Mexico that, single mothers are more likely to migrate than married mothers as they are the sole providers for their families and have no other choice but to do so when their livelihoods are eroded (Jungehülsing, 2010). She also adds that, women migrate primarily in response to the overall depressed economy, which provokes critical losses in their income.

²³⁰ Interview with Esther, a 32 years old and a mother of 3 children in Parakuyo sub- village, October 18th, 2010

²³¹ Swahili word for sweet buns

²³² Interview with Anna at Parakuyo, October 19th, 2010

²³³ Interview with Esther at Parakuyo, October 19th, 2010

Charcoal production and sale of firewood is increasingly evident too as a coping strategy by women. One respondent explained,

Many women are now involved in charcoal production as there is nothing else for them to do in Kilosa. With livestock economy being impacted, milk production is also decreasing leaving us with no other sources of income... in some households, men have become in charge of the milk, leaving women like paupers in their own households. The only way to survive is to come is to either engage in charcoal or in firewood to earn a living.²³⁴

In another interview with Mama Kelvin, one of the women involved in charcoal production concurred by giving her case, “I do meet our living expenses from the charcoal ... our cattle died in the drought, and my husband moved to Zanzibar to work in the hotel. When conflict occurred in 2000, I lost several bags of charcoal, as I had to run to save myself. This pushed me back; my son had to drop from the English medium school as I could no longer pay the school fees”.²³⁵

While women are increasingly embarking into this business, they also complained of the difficulties they are increasingly facing due to the depleting of trees and incidence of thefts during conflicts. Some they also complained that, as men are losing income from their cattle, they also interfere and control their income after sales. One woman explained,

For some years now I have been doing this job... but nowadays it is becoming hard. Trees are no longer in abundance as before, because many people are in this activity including those involved in timbering and logging. Sometimes you burned charcoal, and while you wait for some days for it to cool before you can load into the bags, you find everything has been stolen. We are sometimes forced

²³⁴ Interview with the District land officer, October 19th, 2010

²³⁵ Interview with Mama Kelvin, Parakuyo, October 2010

to sleep in the bush to protect our business or seek assistance from the *morans*...yet my husband controls the income from the business.²³⁶

Another woman concurred 'our husbands are the ones in control of even the money we get from the charcoal sales. It is their traditional right; we can't deny them, although we suffer from it'.²³⁷

The current coping and adaptation strategies are increasingly transforming the socio-economic and political system of the Maasai societies is prompting women to seek other means of income generation to support family needs. This finding is also replicated in other studies in pastoral societies such as that by Mushi (2013) who found that, as a way to cope and adapt to climatic changes Maasai women in Kilosa are opting for diversified income generating activities such as charcoal production. Likewise, Omolo (2010) found impacts of climate change on the adaptation and coping mechanisms among the Turkana pastoral women in Kenya. While the shift towards taking part in income generating activities such as charcoal production may seem to be a positive step (Omolo, 2010; Mushi, 2013), in the face of increasing shocks such as drought and conflict, women stand to risk losing even their relative access to rangelands products such as trees, and charcoal production brings its other challenges of theft or displacement in conflict situations, and lack of access to the proceeds as noted. Timbering, firewood, logging and charcoal industries are also bringing land degradation. Furthermore, with increasing competition for land and secondary position the women have in relation to land, women may be unable to hold the land in the absence of their husbands.

As Goh (2012) argued, under the increasing resource competition, women are likely to be at a risk of losing their traditional access to due to increasing climatic vagaries. This finding is also replicated in the pastoral areas of sub-Saharan Africa particularly Sahel,

²³⁶ Interview with female respondent at Ngaiti

²³⁷ Interview with a woman in Parakuyo, October, 2010

whereby Kristjanson found that, the women were in fear of losing traditional access to resources as competition for rangeland and other livestock resources increased due to increasing climatic vagaries (Kristjanson, et al., 2010). As such supporting women's access to adequate cash income may be helpful in empowering them to cope with and adapt to climatic variability and changes, but is not without its own challenges.

5.5.3 Shift in City Migrants Patterns

A new shift in migration patterns is evidenced in Kilosa, where women are now part of the city migrants. While in the city, they are involved in income generating activities ranging from beaded jewelry making, selling of milk, tobacco and traditional herbal medicines to paid jobs as housemaids. One respondent disclosed,

While men and the warriors are leaving the villages, some women are also leaving... and we are worried about this trend, because some of them may fail to negotiate with the hardships and find they are being forced to engage into prostitution in order to survive city life... we have heard about our women and we are worried about their future.²³⁸

Another woman also noted,

Urban life is expensive when you compare with the life in the village. Selling of traditional medicines is no longer a good business as before, because the men are also in the same business. Even within us, every woman is selling almost similar herbs, so a day may pass without selling anything.²³⁹

A male pastoralist also concurred,

²³⁸ Interview with a Maasai elder at Parakuyo sub-village, October 18th, 2010

²³⁹ Interview with a woman involved in sells of traditional herbal medicines in Morogoro town, September 13th, 2012.

Movement of our women and 'Isiangik'²⁴⁰ to the cities is a time bomb to our livelihoods. I witnessed them with my own eyes in one of the nightclubs of Morogoro, involving in prostitution to earn a living. Some of them are women who during the day are in the milk and medicinal herbs business. Due to high cost of living, they are forced into prostitution in order to survive. Life is also very difficult to women who have been left alone in the village to shoulder household responsibilities without livestock, or any other source of income to buy food yet they have to feed the children...Some of them are forced into having sexual relations with wealthy men so they could get money to buy food and other needs for the children.²⁴¹

The HIV risk for the individual and the community was acknowledged,

As a polygamous society, in case one of the wives or men is infected by HIV/AIDS or any of the sexually transmitted diseases, the entire household suffers. The issue of HIV/AIDS is not well understood or socially acknowledged in our culture and to the majority of the community it is still a taboo to talk of it. When people die from this kind of infectious and deadly disease; a widow will still be inherited and it is hard to say anything.²⁴²

Therefore, climate variability, through the need to find alternative sources of income has made women and entire community more vulnerable in a number of ways, through outward migration, breaking of social networks, and family separation (Alston, 2007). It has exposed women and entire pastoral livelihoods to sexual abuse and disease, which has repercussions for the entire community where practices such as polygamy and widow inheritance persist.

²⁴⁰ This means a young Maasai girl.

²⁴¹ Interview with Edward, August 8, 2013

²⁴² Interview with Edward, August 8, 2013

The impact of diminishing cattle economy and women taking up new roles for their survival and that of the family, and branching out into alternative livelihoods has been observed amongst the Karimojong pastoralists of Northern Uganda (Mkutu, 2008). The impact of urban migration and women forced engagement into prostitution to survive has also been observed amongst the Turkana pastoralist women in Kenya where dwindling resources and male migration have exposed women to physical and sexual abuse such as prostitution and early marriages as they struggle to survive in urban areas (Omolo, 2010). Similarly, Mulinge and Getu (2013) observed similar impacts on pastoralist women in Sub-Saharan Africa where they argued that, migration may be more uncertain to women since the limited access to resources and education mean they lack capital thereby forcing some into prostitution.

This result is also replicated in other pastoral areas of Africa such as Nigeria (Agwu and Okhimamhe, 2009). Likewise, similar observations were also established among the pastoralists in Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Kenya where Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) found that HIV/AIDS also appears to be a significant problem for pastoralists and those factors such as culture, gender, poverty, conflict and displacement appear to be driving its spread.

5.6 State Induced Adaptation Strategies

Pastoralist coping and adaptation strategies are also not only autonomously induced by the pastoral communities, in response to climate change as explained earlier but also by the state programme designed in adjusting to climate change impacts. The National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA) provides official countrywide adaptation priorities, depending on vulnerability and proposed the potential adaptation strategies for each sector. As far as the livestock sector is concerned for instance, the NAPA has identified and promoted activities that address the urgent needs for adapting to the adverse impacts of climate change.

Climate change adaptation strategies in Tanzania are broadly categorized into two: Existing, and potential adaptation activities (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007). The existing adaptation activities within the livestock sector includes: strengthening cross

196

breeding for resistant breeds, strengthening tick and tsetse control programmes, strengthening livestock extension services, improving livestock marketing infrastructure, enhancing research and development, and promotion of zero grazing. Likewise, the potential adaptation activities on the other hand include: changing land use patterns, Tsetse fly control, integrating pest and disease control, sustainable range management, infrastructure development, research and development, educating farmers/livestock keepers, advocating zero grazing, and controlling movement of livestock.

Figure 7: National Priority Actions identified in Tanzania's NAPA

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Increase irrigation by using appropriate water efficient technologies to boost crop production in all areas- Alternative farming systems and relocation of water sources including wells along the low lying coastal areas- Develop water harvesting and storage programs for rural communities particularly those in dry lands- Community based catchments conservation and management programs- Explore and invest in alternative clean energy sources e.g. Wind, Solar, bio-diesel, etc.- Promotion of application of cogeneration in the industry sector- A forestation programme in degraded lands using more adaptive and fast growing tree species- Develop community forest fire prevention plans and programmes- Establishing and strengthening community awareness programmes on preventable major health hazards |
|---|

Source: United Republic of Tanzania (2007)

However, both existing and potential adaptation strategies not to mention the 9 identified priority actions (Figure 7), leaves behind pastoralism even though livestock is among the primary prey of the impacts of climate change hazards due to its dependence on climate related resources [pastures, water]. As a consequence, even the 9 National priority actions as identified in the Tanzania's NAPA focus on crop farming at the expense of pastoralism and furthermore the priorities are silent about the livelihood of the pastoralists. That is to say, the challenge still remains in translating the climate change impact-mitigation into the Policies, Strategies and Programmes of the country with respect to the existing diverse livelihood systems. As a result, the National Policies,

197

Strategies and Programmes have given less attention to vulnerable societies like Maasai pastoralists, particularly women in climate sensitive, drought and flood prone areas of the country.

There is a particular focus on agricultural development especially crop sub-sector (Figure 7, item 1), and through related National policies such as the 2009 Kilimo Kwanza (Agriculture First) policy slogan encouraging agricultural transformation through modernization and expansion of irrigated agriculture in the drier parts of the country. Unfortunately, regardless of its long wish list, the policy is not even linking its activities and programs to issues of drought and floods in many parts of Tanzania not to mention Kilosa, which falls under the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT) zone²⁴³ and which may also affect the expected increased agricultural expansion through irrigation. Tellingly, the policy (*Agriculture First Policy*) does not even mention by passing the phenomenon climate change. As consequence, key adaptation strategies offered to pastoralists include modernizing their livelihoods by destocking, zero grazing, settling and changing to modern cattle breeds, away from the local Zebu breeds which are argued to be less productive and destructive to the environment. As the current President of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency, Jakaya M. Kikwete on his inaugural speech to Parliament on the 30th December, 2005 stated,

Mr. Speaker, we must modernize animal husbandry. We will have no alternative. We must abandon altogether nomadic pastoralism which makes the whole country pastureland...The cattle are bony and the pastoralists are sacks of skeletons. We cannot move forward with this type of pastoralism in the twenty

²⁴³ This is an agricultural partnership whose central objective is to improve agricultural productivity, food security and livelihoods in Tanzania. SAGCOT was initiated at the World Economic Forum (WEF) Africa summit 2010 with the support of founding partners including farmers, agri-business, the Government of Tanzania and companies from across the private sector. The implication of SAGCOT operation in Kilosa is that, more land is allocated to the crop-subsector, leaving less and less land for pastoral livelihood system. For more information about the SAGCOT, visit <http://www.sagcot.com/who-we-are/what-is-sagcot/>

first century. We will take deliberate measure to improve the livestock sector. Our people must change from being nomadic cattle herders to being modern livestock keepers. We will take measures to improve pastures, veterinary care, cattle dips, and auctions.²⁴⁴

And early in the following year:

We are producing little milk, exporting very little beef, and our livestock keepers roam throughout the country with their animals in search for grazing grounds. We have to do away with archaic ways of livestock farming.²⁴⁵

However, existing literature indicates that, whereas improved breeds have higher meat and milk yields, they tend to be less drought and disease resistant, and sometimes need to be stall-fed or zero-grazed (Olson, Rubin, and Wangui, 2010). Women also explain a fear of labor-intensive methods and a livelihood crisis,

We are ready to accept changes, but what the government should know is that, it is not just for milk and meat that we keep large herds. Large herds are source of secure livelihood. As Maasai, livestock are like our banks. Less herds means less assurance of food and income. With drought, we are not even sure how the new breeds will survive water and pasture loss, let alone the tsetse flies²⁴⁶

Another woman confirmed,

Zero grazing is an extra burden to us. We will still be the ones to fetch fodder and water for the livestock and for cleaning the sheds. With men leaving us behind,

²⁴⁴ Hansard, December 30, 2005. The quotation is loosely translated from Swahili to English by the author.

²⁴⁵ His Excellency, Jakaya M. Kikwete, President, URT in a press conference announcing his Cabinet, 4th January, 2006

²⁴⁶ Interview with an elderly woman in Ngaiti sub-village, October 22nd, 2010

how are we to buy the new breeds when we are not allowed to sell the cattle without men? Even if we are allowed, what is left is not even enough to buy the new cattle. Even if we buy, when they return, they will claim theirs because that is how our customs place resource ownership.²⁴⁷

Thus, making the suggested adjustment is more difficult for women given the workload and the existing power relations over resource ownership, and they may not benefit.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the alleged causal relationship between climate change, land use conflicts, and pastoral Maasai women livelihood in Kilosa. Generally, results indicate that, climate change is real in Kilosa, and has resulted and exacerbates existing tensions surrounding access to land and land resources in Kilosa. Men and women differently feel these tensions due to the multiple gender roles played and their unequal distribution amongst men and women. However, a significant part of the problem is about policy and resource governance. Adaptation policies and related development interventions in Kilosa are hindering pastoral mobility and lack of other possible livelihood options is pushing more and more pastoralists out of the pastoral system. Thus exacerbate tensions between pastoralists and with farmers in Kilosa also.

Lack of well-defined property rights and land use plans are also contributing to scarcity, since areas have been opened without land title deeds. Even where a title deed is present, if land is left undeveloped and reverts to wilderness, pastoralists may settle and assume ownership, leading to later conflicts. Pastoralism is also a livelihood system that seems to be impacted with climate variability impacts as noted early in this chapter. However, to date, there is no guiding policy to favor their livelihood system. Lack of climate change policy in the country to assess and state projects that could contribute to pastoralist adaptive capacity is also worsening their vulnerability and land use tensions. Conflicting policies also contribute to conflict; for example, a livestock policy highlights

²⁴⁷ Interview with a woman in Mabwegere, October 20th, 2010

the intensification of livestock while the agricultural policy highlights on the large-scale expansion of fields.

With the push towards adaptation through the NAPA policies and strategies, the rights of pastoralists and especially women, may be undermined in favor of other land users, and local contexts prevent plans from being helpful to poor women. As in Kilosa, this may even provoke new conflict patterns. Thus, an embedded gendered approach that acknowledges the capabilities, limitations and vulnerabilities of different factions of pastoral communities is fundamental for a better adaptation in the future. In this case, I concur with Mkutu who concluded that, pastoral issues are governance issues (Mkutu, 2008). In this regard, climate change is just one among several factors that aggravate conflict, and ultimately exacerbate the plight of women. As Hoste and Vlassenroot (2010) express, climate change is a ‘threat multiplier’, which exacerbates existing trends, tensions and instability. In this context, such existing tensions include resource conflicts, environmental induced migrations, loss of territory and boarder dispute, situations of fragility and radicalization²⁴⁸.

Responses in this chapter indicate that, given the recurrent and critical impacts of climate change induced conflicts on the Maasai pastoral communities, diversifying livelihood options are becoming a matter of survival than choice. Pastoralist women coping and adaptation strategies are not only autonomously induced by themselves, but also by the state. While on one hand, women’s secondary access to and control of household resources and their insufficient representation in decision making politics is intensifying their vulnerable positions, on the other hand, it is pushing women towards livelihood diversification as a way to build resilience through spreading risk. Livelihood diversification is evident as women are engaging in income generating activities such as bead works, making and selling of charcoal and firewood, food vending and trading seasonal labor migration and others. Likewise, state induced adaptation strategies are

²⁴⁸ As the chapter on conflicts explains, the issue of radicalization is reflected where local militia groups – UJAKI and Maasai warriors are formed and used in resource conflicts of Kilosa

increasingly implemented as a way to build resilience to climate change impacts. Amongst these activities are issues of modernization of Maasai pastoralist livelihood systems through destocking programmes, promoting zero grazing, and improving livestock marketing infrastructure.

However, my critical analysis of the both mechanisms indicates that, Maasai pastoral communities particularly the women are increasingly pushed to the margin of existence. For instance, even though pastoralist women have opt out of themselves to diversify their livelihoods and engage in other income generating activities within their localities and to the cities in order to build resilience and spread livelihood risks, a challenge still exists. There is still lack of well-placed appropriate support mechanisms to assist them in diversifying their economic means both before and even after the climatic shocks.²⁴⁹ As a consequence, women for example who have opt to engage in business or migrate to the cities are increasingly subjected to more vulnerable situations as noted earlier in this chapter. Some are falling into the risk of contracting ill-health problems such as sexually transmitted diseases and HIV-AIDs as they find alternative sources of income. Perhaps there is a need to organize these women in groups and support them with skills and knowledge on how to establish and manage small businesses; a situation, which will boost their abilities, and capacities to best engage and benefit in income generating activities.

As noted earlier, state induced adaptation strategies include modernization of pastoralism, which state view it as an impediment to the realization of the Millennium Development Goals in this twenty first century. To my view, this could have been a best strategy if the local pastoralists could have been supported in the whole process of transformation, rather than imposing change on them. Pastoralism is also a unique livelihood system as with other systems in Tanzania. The danger is that, this form of livelihood system whose produces contribute handsomely to the National Development (URT, 2006; Kipuri and Sørensen, 2009), it is likely to disappear as their inherent

²⁴⁹ Personal observations during field work in Kilosa

adaptive capacity to cope with climatic variability for centuries is increasingly compromised by sedentarisation and modernization policies, at the same time overlooking the fundamental need for pastoral mobility and resource access. Supporting pastoral transformation process and even effective pastoralism will allow Tanzania to make the most of its arid and semi-arid areas that often receive low and unpredictable rainfall, and hedge against the potential failure of other land uses which may not be as flexible in the face of increasingly climate variability and change. Likewise, it will also enable the government (both local and central levels of government) to benefit from the global boom in demand for meat and other livestock products, thus increase the national income.

Unfortunately, women issues in relation to their vulnerability to climate change induced impacts are not mainstreamed in the existing national plans, programmes and sector related policies. This gap is firstly explicitly seen in the NAPA report (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007), where even in its priority actions (figure 7), women issues as far as climate change is concerned are not taken on board. As consequence, issues of women are not explicitly mainstreamed in the current National climate change strategy, related sector policies, plans and programmes, but rather included on an add-on basis. Likewise, even where their vulnerabilities are considered, such as in the National Climate Change Strategy (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012, p. 73), they are just mentioned in a passing mode. The fact that women issue are not explicitly integrated, mainstreamed and embedded in the aforementioned climate adaptation strategies and programmes given the existing differentiated and often unequal roles and access to resources between men and women particular in the patriarchal society like of the Maasai pastoralists, pastoral women will continue to be impacted in an unequal manner hence unable to adapt to changes as noted early. In this regard, even at the time when the climate change policy is going to be in action, it will also leave them on the hanging.

Absence of strong integration and mainstreaming of gender issues and equality within the climate change response is exacerbating lost opportunities on women, unequal impacts. As climate change induced impacts exacerbates existing shocks like conflict not to mention unequal roles and resource access on the system, the rate of hardship

particularly on women is likely to increase unless policies are implemented to facilitate smooth adaptation and a choice of livelihoods which allows people to maintain, exit or improve their situations independently of livestock keeping.

Moreover, improvement of livestock marketing infrastructure as previously noted is also amongst the list of activities embedded in the state induced climate adaptation strategies. However, in relation to Kilosa, livestock market infrastructures such as cattle markets, road networks to the markets, as well as and marketing and market information system still an issue, and much needs to be done. Picture 13 shows part of the Parakuyo cattle market where cattle are sold. Although the market area is well built [with brick walls and cattle deeps, during rainy season, the market is filled with water because the market is unroofed.



Picture 12: Parakuyo cattle in Twatwatwa village

For the Maasai income from sale of livestock and livestock products (milk, ghee) is the primary source of income. In times of drought, floods and conflict as noted early in this chapter, market systems (terms of trade) deteriorate sharply, especially as their coping strategies are limited and infrastructural facilities for cereal supply and livestock off take is weak (Twigg, 2007).

When income sources deteriorates, women suffer the consequences as they end up losing access to such resources as prolonged drought and conflicts erodes the traditional social network and even the limited access that women have had as earlier

discussed in this chapter. Scholars like Yanda and Mubaya (2011) suggest that in order for a climate change adaptation response measure to be effective and sustainable the synergies between adaptation and mitigation should be strengthened, interconnected and local adaptive capacity to climate change should be strengthened and enhanced.

Olson, Rubin and Wangui (2010) also observed that much as new cattle breeds yield more milk and meat, the stall-fed animals are particularly labor intensive for women as they are the ones to collect fodder and fetch water for the livestock. Djoudi and Brockhaus observe in Northern Mali that, women limited access to and ownership of livestock and power to decide act as a stumbling block to their adaptation to drought (Djoudi and Brockhaus, 2011).

Chapter Six

Food Security, Conflict and Gender in Kilosa

6.1 Introduction

Food security refers to people's physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for a healthy and active life (FAO, 1996; Russo, Hemrich, Allinovi and Melvin, 2008). It may be considered at a number of levels, from individual to household levels, through to community and national levels. In order to be considered food secure, people must have access to sufficient and high-quality food at all times. Conversely, food insecurity is a lack of food and poor nutritional quality of available food and constant fear about getting food in the future. Notably, this encompasses more than simply the worst situation of chronic food deprivation or hunger.

Food insecurity is a complex issue in Sub-Saharan Africa, increasingly taking a central stage in literature due to issues relating to its conception on one hand, and its link to livelihood crisis like conflicts on the other (Bukuluki, Mugumya, Neema, Kafuko and Ochen, 2008; Simmons, 2013). Regardless of its complexity, four dominant paradigms best summarize its evolution. The first paradigm, which was most dominant in the 1970s, takes a "Malthusian and neo- Malthusian conception". It views food insecurity as direct consequences of food shortages caused by climatic variables and demographic pressures, arguing that climatic shocks and population pressures affect food availability through declining carrying capacities and supply failures (Vlassenroot, Ntutuba and Raeymaekers, 2006).

Moving away from food availability to food ability argument is the second paradigm emerging in the early 1980s which views food insecurity from an economic point of view and is built on Amartya Sen's entitlement theory of famine (Smith et al., 1993). This paradigm characterizes as economic disasters caused by failures of demand, or by a sharp decline on people's entitlements²⁵⁰ (entitlement failures), which lead to people's

²⁵⁰ An Entitlement or a person's "entitlement set" refers to the full range of goods and services that he or she can acquire by converting his or her "endowments" (e.g. assets and resources, including labor power) through "exchange entitlement mappings" (Devereux, 2001, p.246). Amartya Sen presents four types of

inability to command enough food for subsistence even when markets are well stocked (Devereux, 2001; Vlassenroot, Ntutuba and Raeymaekers, 2006). This understanding describes food insecurity as a failure of economic entitlement by individuals, due to market failures and dysfunctional economic systems. Supporting this paradigm is the World Bank's definition of food security ["access by all people at all times to enough food for a active and healthy life" (World Bank, 1986, p. 1)]. This economic conception of food security has however being criticized for its tendency to focus on people and markets as root causes of famine and disregard issues of sustainability or sufficient access to food over the long term, and the notion of vulnerability, or the risk of exposure to shocks and the ability to cope with from these shocks and recover from risks to livelihoods (Maxwell and Slater, 2003; Vlassenroot, Ntutuba, and Raeymaekers, 2006).

In the same way, other scholars critiqued Sen's ideas on the grounds that (Devereux, 2006): first, food insecurity is also a political crisis as much as they are economic shocks or natural disasters (Devereux, 2001, 2006). This implies that political and policy factors also influence people's access to food. The case of food shortage in the Horn of Africa [Somali and Ethiopia] for instance is not only linked to individual access, but rather a web of complex set of factors like civil war, prolonged drought, tendency to personalize and depoliticize food insecurity by attributing its causality to "acts of God". Second, focus on disrupted food availability, with less attention to food access failures, or to failures of response to food shortage and thirdly, its failure to address issues of vulnerability to food insecurity and to explain why some people such as women are more vulnerable to food security shocks than others. In view of the above, Amartya Sen's entitlements theory to food security is valid in analysing the distribution of food within a particular context [i.e. not a one size fits all], his conception does not ask critical

person's entitlements or legal sources of food acquisition (Sen, 1981:p.2): Trade - based entitlement (i.e. ability to sell or buy food), Production - based entitlement (i.e. the ability to grow and produce food), Own-labor based entitlement (i.e. ability to work or sell skills or power to purchase or produce food), and inheritance and transfer based entitlement (i.e. ability to be given food by others e.g. government, social networks).

questions as to the origins of, and interests served by the prevailing legal and economic system for example.

Instead, it supposes a well-perfected market society, where the law of demand and supply are in perfect operation or the legal and economic order as pre-existing and automatic, and thereby conceals the responsibility of specific groups and individuals in creating and sustaining an economic order that is necessarily prejudicial to the entitlements of certain classes (Edkins, 2000a; Plotnik, 1964). Owing much to the work of political scientists (such as Keen, 1994; De Waal, 1997; Edkins, 2000a), the third paradigm understands food insecurity as a political phenomenon caused by political powerlessness (Vlassenroot, Ntutuba and Raeymaekers, 2006) rather than a product of lack of food production, environmental / demographic factors [as Malthus and neo-Malthusians did] or market deregulations [as Amartya Sen did]. People are food insecure when they “... lack of lobbying power within national (international) institutions”(Keen, 1994), and when there are “failures of political accountability’ and different forms of ‘political malfeasance (De Waal, 1997; 2008).

For instance, a recent analysis of food insecurity in Kailak, a town in southern slopes of Darfur, De Waal (2008) observes that widespread food shortage (famine) arise from political malfeasance, which includes government error, exclusion, and inaction (De Waal, 2008, pp. 1538-1539). This suggests that, conceptions of food insecurity extend beyond natural disaster occurrences like drought and floods. It rather incorporates social - economic and political processes and strategies engaged during conflict, including peacetime to accomplish specified agendas. This implies that, it is the marginalized, with less capacity, opportunities and resources to wield power that are the most vulnerable to food security shocks.

Therefore, only the wider political and institutional context can best explain why those hit hardest by food security shocks are those that are politically powerless and vulnerable (Vlassenroot, Ntutuba and Raeymaekers, 2006; Lecoutere, Vlassenroot, and Raeymaekers, 2009). This paradigm therefore demands analysis of food insecurity be identified and cross-examined in terms of power relations, and seen as a political-

economic order that create certain classes more vulnerable to destitution and starvation than others. Even within a food crisis, certain class/ group's interests are served over others, and their predation on the desperate and unfortunate may be concealed under rhetoric about the legal and economic norms.

Food insecurity is thus an outcome of socio-economic and political processes and structures, whose effects are felt differently by different groups / classes [and may even produce gains for some] which cause the accelerated destitution of the most vulnerable, marginal and least powerful groups in the community, to a point that they can no longer, as a group, maintain a sustainable livelihood (Walker, 1989; Vlassenroot, Ntutuba, and Raeymaekers, 2006). Additionally, the above-discussed three paradigms are linked to each other in a variety of complex ways, and I do not intend to treat them as entirely conceptually different. For instance, a drought, although understood here as a 'Malthusian' cause may have effects on the availability and food price in the markets, part of the Amartya Sen's conception of food insecurity. Likewise, the impact of drought on markets may also opportune certain groups [classes] in the society by virtue of their socio-economic position at the expense of 'hunger' to those who are unable to wield enough power – a political conception of food insecurity. The theoretical paradigms should therefore be viewed less as objective, technical diagnoses of distinct types of causes of food insecurity, but rather as discursive interpretations, of a complex and interlinked set of factors whose ultimate manifestation is food insecurity.

In this context I argue that, neither the political scientist's views of food insecurity alone nor the neo-Malthusian or the economist views of food insecurity best suffice to analyze food (in) security among the Maasai in Kilosa. In some cases, food insecurity might relate to the issues of food preferences as FAO (1996) and Russo et al (2008) argues in their definition of food security. Therefore in this chapter, both paradigms' views are adapted to analyse the way in which food insecurity, triggered or exacerbated by conflict, impacts upon pastoral women.

Given the complex manifestations of food insecurity and its link to political powerlessness (Atkins, 1991), Seddon and Adhikari offer a more integrative definition,

involving key mechanisms that cause unequal food availability and unequal entitlements to food, people's coping strategies and the range of constraints and opportunities affecting the livelihood strategies of households and individuals (Seddon and Adhikari, 2003). Proponents of the approach are of the view that people are more vulnerable when their livelihoods and coping strategies are blocked or undermined, or if their group identity, political positions or material circumstances make them particularly exposed to conflicts (Vlassenroot, Ntutuba, and Raeymaekers, 2006; Lecoutere, Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2009).

6.2 Food Security and Conflict

Over the past few decades, discussions on food insecurity in the academia and policy 'think tanks' world have generated a number of viewpoints on the link between food insecurity and conflict. Dominating these arguments is the intricate relationship between food insecurity and conflicts, each triggering an, or reinforcing the other (Vlassenroot, Ntutuba, and Raeymaekers, 2006; Vlassenroot, 2008; Lecoutere, Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2008; Simmons, 2013). Conflict triggers food insecurity in a number of ways. Conflict affects food availability; access; utilization; predictability, certainty and capabilities within which people can access their food supplies (Messer and Cohen, 2006; Simmons, 2013). Conflict does also weakens effective utilization of food by, not only reducing both the availability of and access to safe and nutritious food, particularly perishable foods of high nutritional value such as meat and milk, but also by making available proper food preparation and storage of the food more complex (Simmons, 2013). Furthermore, conflict may also intensify existing struggles for access to livelihood opportunities and put existing food systems under stress, turning them from predictable mechanisms of production, processing, distribution and consumption into very volatile, unpredictable and uncontrollable systems of survival (Pingali, Alinovi and Sutton, 2005; Vlassenroot, Ntutuba and Raeymaekers, 2006).

Particularly relevant in this study is that conflict disrupts food production by preventing normal farming and herding operations from being carried out particularly where household's source of income is derived from agricultural production. For instance, a

study of 14 countries found that production levels were on average 12.3 percent lower in conflict periods than in peacetime in 13 of those countries, with Angolan farmers experiencing reductions as high as 44 percent (Messer, Cohen and Marchione, 2000). There is also evidence that households in conflict affected areas deliberately make choices that reduce the composition and production of crops and livestock and, thus, the risks of looting, or loss of crops or livestock. With crop production for instance, in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) for instance, due to conflicts, between 1996 and 2004, general food production decreased by 12 percent with cereal dropping by 33 percent (Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2008). A study by Vlassenroot in DRC also observed that, “ agricultural production became driven more by the push to minimize (conflict-related) risk than to maximize profit” (Vlassenroot K. , 2008, p. 210). As far as livestock production is concerned, choices may also be on livestock holding (in terms of size and composition) in order to respond to conflict-related risks. Within DRC, for instance, livestock activities shifted from cattle raising to small livestock (ruminants) activities with cattle decreasing by more than half (Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2008), with other study also documenting similar shift towards small livestock keeping (Raeyemakers, 2008). What’s more, normal market or trading activities may be disrupted by conflict, directly reducing flows of food through market channels, as marketing agents face high risks of loss through theft and high costs if they try to protect their stocks; resulting in outright loss through the destruction of food and food-producing assets (Collier, Elliot, Hegre, Hoeffler, Reynal-Querol and Sambanis, 2003; Verpoorten, 2009; Simmons, 2013).

Conflict may also result in displacement of people and household assets, and the possibility of further displacement or the threat of looting and theft discourages people from storing food which might otherwise smooth their consumption patterns over time (Simmons, 2013). The displaced population suffers the greatest reduction in their physical, social, and economic ability to access the food they need. A typical case is that involving communal conflict of January 2012 between pastoralists and farmers in Mali, which displaced household properties of more than 400,000 Malians, many of them pastoralists (ibid). Simmons suggests that access to food is hit hardest as a population is separated from their sources of livelihood and income, and at the same time their

physical access may be further compromised if they move into areas where markets are limited (Simmons, 2013).

Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers argue for the importance of the institutional context, for “institutions constitute the critical factors in facilitating or blocking access to assets and thus crucial to the food security positions of households” (Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2008, p. 164). Their importance centers on the fact that they act as “agencies and conventions” that inhibit or facilitate household capabilities and choices (Ellis, 2000). During conflict, violence not only influences the available resources, options and household choices, but also impacts on the existing institutional context: the policies, institutions and processes through which households negotiate the use of assets and the configuration of livelihood strategies (ibid). While violence can offer a number of opportunities at a grassroots level (Korf, 2004), on the other hand, households may be blocked by various ‘mediating structures’ that negatively influence the diversification of their livelihoods and ‘adaptation’ mechanisms such as petty trading (Raeymaekers, 2008). Such ‘mediating structures’ include markets and gender [discussed hereafter]. Markets adapt to conditions of conflict, but a crisis sale of livestock or grain however, often drives prices down and generates returns that are less than anticipated, which impacts heavily on local food systems. Collier notes the importance of markets from a different angle, arguing that food insecurity can perpetuate conflict, although its effects depend on the context, with the strongest links evident in states that already have fragile markets and weak political institutions (Collier, Elliot, Hegre, Hoeffler, Reynal-Querol and Sambanis, 2003). Brinkman and Hendrix are of the view that high food prices are both exacerbated by and exacerbate the changes of civil unrest (Brinkman and Hendrix, 2011).

This brings us to a discussion on many ways in which food crises can trigger fuel, or sustain conflict (Flores, 2004; FAO, 2001). This may be through: triggering conflict, catalyzing recurring conflict, building momentum toward conflict, providing incentives to join or support conflict, or sustaining conflict (Schomerus and Allen, 2010; Simmons, 2013). Famine can cause intensified competition for food and instigate conflicts (Vlassenroot, Ntutuba, and Raeymaekers, 2006), and food insecurity joins with other

factors to worsen instability in societies, economies, and politics (Bora, Ceccacci, Delgado and Townsend, 2010), Kahl found that, there is much to suggest that, rapid population growth, environmental degradation, and competition over natural resources play important causal roles in civil strife, although he does not draw a direct link to the food security status of those participating in the conflict (Kahl, 2008).

A more nuanced relationship between food security and conflict has been suggested by some scholars, who find that communal conflict to be more prevalent during times of relative abundance (Witsenberg and Wario, 2009; Theisen, 2012), or that the relationship is curvilinear - with conflict more prevalent during periods of both relative insecurity and abundance (Brinkman and Hendrix, 2011; Raleigh and Kniveton, 2012). It is often held that food insecurity alone does not trigger conflicts, but rather a web of complex factors is involved. Confirming to this argument is Messer and Cohen who argued that, the trigger condition for violence is not just food insecurity, but rather natural, economic and political factors (Messer and Cohen, 2006). Brinkman and Hendrix note that food insecurity is both a cause and a consequence of violence, contributing to a vicious cycle or “conflict trap”, and that debates that link food insecurity and conflict center on a ‘chicken and egg problem’; they conclude that the relationship is indeed complex (Brinkman and Hendrix, 2011).

Given such complexity it is suggested that a key parameter to best understand institutional shifts as adaptation strategies is through analysis of vulnerability contexts and risks, as related to social and political status (Vlassenroot, Ntutuba and Raeymaekers, 2006). Collinson offers a useful political economy approach that looks at the interrelatedness between livelihood opportunities and the broader political economy, seeking to understand “both political and economic aspects of conflict, and how these combine to affect patterns of power and vulnerability’ (Collinson, 2003).

This work in it’s chosen context is interested in the causation of food insecurity by conflict, taking into account the climatic, institutional factors and socio-economic context which play a part in the generation of food insecurity. Finally it focuses on the

gendered impact of this, through affecting the position of women as food managers and providers of the society.

6.3 Gendered Impacts

Existing literature on food security posits that gender is an important aspect of the food security and conflict issue and those women may feel the impacts the hardest (Bukuluki, Mugumya, Neema, Kafuko and Ochen, 2008). Forming this supposition is the fact that the role of food security in Africa is culturally gendered and the provision of family food is considered a woman's responsibility. Put another way, women and food are inseparable (Karl, 2009) and lack of food is therefore women's problem to solve (Action Aid, 2008; FAO, 2010; Karl, 2009). A number of mechanisms are important here and may be affected by conflict: Access to land, labor availability, farming methods used and food storage are among the factors that have direct impacts on women as food managers (Goldstein and Udry, 2005; Nangobi, 2012).

In a conflict situation, men are recruited to fight which reduces the supply of labor for herding or farming, leaving women and children behind to work the fields and herd livestock in an insecure condition (Simmons, 2013). Fleeing homes from dangers of conflicts, households are often forced to leave behind stored food, equipment such as water barrels, livestock (including small ruminants), grazing land and other livelihood assets used by women. Likewise, productive roles usually belonging to women, particularly fetching water and firewood become more complex and dangerous during conflict (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Akresh, Luchetti and Thirumuthy, 2010; Simmons, 2013). Other studies stress that, women as food producers, processors, keepers, preparers, providers and managers of food in the households often bear primary responsibility for maintaining household consumption and nutrition in the face of mounting costs (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Karl, 2009; Flintan, 2011). Moreover, the disproportionate burden from the "care economy" affects women's productivity by limiting their mobility, their ability to market produce, and the time they can spend on food production. Additionally, women are often impeded in their efforts by limited

access to assets, traditional norms, and the challenges posed by their often-competing roles (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008).

Some assert that women tend to shoulder the heaviest burden of food crisis in comparison with men as food managers. For example, The head of WFP's gender unit, Isatou Jallow discussing global food crisis and women's roles as chief food providers, noted that, "Women have unequal access to resources and the food crisis has only worsened the situation...[It has] forced families to reduce their food intake while increasing the workload of women in order to earn more income to be able purchase food... usually, a woman will always be the last to eat - instead saving the food for her children and other family members" (World Food Programme, 2009). Likewise, in the Southern Africa, women have been reported to be the most challenged to feed their families in the face of high food prices (Dodson, Chiweza and Riley, 2012). Equally, due to socially constructed gender inequalities ingrained in the society, they are usually the first ones to sacrifice their food intake for their children and male head of households and the last to benefit (Reddy and Moletsane, 2009; Palacios and Mehta, 2011).

As noted previously, the institutional context is important. Institutional frameworks both social and political institutions including rules, policies, customs, traditions and practices have impacts negatively on women as food managers as food systems are subjected to stress (Fenton, Hatfield and McIntyre, 2012). Vlassenroot and later Lecoutere concur that institutional context matters for regulating a household's access to and use of assets, and defining or constraining playing a dominant role in people's access and entitlement to food in conflict situations (Vlassenroot K. , 2008; Lecoutere, Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2009). Nevertheless, Agrawal argues that institutional variability brings opportunities to women (Agrawal, 2008). From the institutional angle, Vlassenroot and Lecoutere both comment that vulnerability is subject to political powerlessness and has less to do with gender (Vlassenroot, Ntutuba and Raeymaekers, 2006) (Lecoutere, Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2009). However, others insist that, gender as an institution underpins the interaction between food insecurity, conflict and women (Deere and Doss, 2006; Bukuluki, Mugumya, Neema, Kafuko and Ochen, 2008).

The latter is consistent with the view expressed in this work, that women are the most powerless are the hardest hit by food insecurity (Keen, 1994; De Waal, 1997).

6.4 Food Insecurity, Conflict and Gender in Tanzania: Current Status

Increasingly in Tanzania, food security situations are at risk due to the potential increase in resource conflicts (Kangalawe, 2012; Messer and Cohen, 2006; Kisoza, Kajembe and Monela, 2004) and women are impacted differently in comparison with their male counterparts (Dessus, 2008; Meena and Sharif, 2008; Brockington, 2001). The fact that women are responsible for about 50 per cent of the food production and, in some regions between 60 and 80 per cent of the food for household consumption, makes them particularly hard hit because of the institutional factors noted, that deny them access to land yet makes them responsible to food production (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). Inadequate control over means of production, particularly land and livestock and decision making within the pastoral economy for example makes women more vulnerable to shocks, uncertainties and risk related to production cycles. Insufficient access to land and labor limits the area cultivated, and hence denies women headed households increased productivity (United Republic of Tanzania, 1997; Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003).

Among the Maasai communities, Fenton et al. and Kavishe and Mushi found that food insecurity is present and access to safe and nutritious traditional food has been impaired with women being more differently affected the most hit hardest by the impacts (Kavishe and Mushi, 1993; Fenton, Hatfield and McIntyre, 2012). Kiratu maintains that, as households face food shortages and high food prices, they tend to reduce food consumption, a situation that is indicated by a declining number of meals per day, with severe consequences for the household's nutritional status and gender (Kiratu, Marker and Mwakalobo, 2011). Consequently, food insecurity impacts different households and the coping strategies among households are gender differentiated with women differently impacted than men (Liwenga, 2003).

Nevertheless, Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe argued that, this is not always the case and that women can be shielded from soaring prices because they derive their income from

agricultural activities and income generating activities like charcoal production, basket weaving, beads making and vending of food and herbal medicines (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003). Other scholars comment similarly that women as keepers of traditional knowledge; equipped with multiple roles, are able to overcome food insecurity to a point (Meena, 2007; Karl, 2009; Flintan, 2011).

As noted earlier in the work, the increasing rate of influx of investors into the rural areas, is posing serious threats on food security for rural based small producers as it results into decline and cut-off in food production (Sulle and Nelson, 2009; Mitchell, 2010). In 2009, in Loliondo in the northeast of the country, the Tanzanian army forcibly evicted pastoral Maasai from their ancestral land to clear the area for an Arab investor [OBC-Ortello] to set up hunting grounds for tourism (Munishi, 2013). Pastoralists were not consulted about the sale of their ancestral land. The operation to displace them was particularly brutal: people were beaten, women raped and homes set ablaze. The implementation of Kilosa operation [OKI, 2009] as explained early in this thesis [chapter 4] is also an issue related to giving land for farming, and together, is fostering land use conflict. With the Tanzanian Government under the auspices of the African Union (AU) adopting the Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa in 2009, which call on member states to 'prioritize land policy development and ensure that land laws provide for equitable access to land and related processes among all land users', given the past and present experiences of forcible evictions and displacements [Mkomazi, Ngorongoro Conservation Area (2010) Kilombero (2012) Kilosa (2009)], it is clear that governments are prioritizing investors [foreign capital investment] for over the livelihood of its own citizens.

Surprisingly, with the rush for land is gaining pace in the country, the guidelines are silent on the issue of land grabs. Mousseau and Mittal insist that, food insecurity and conflicts are highly linked to the increasing land grabs in the country (Mousseau and Mittal, 2011), and food availability is likely to be limited due to reduced supply of food crops and competition for production resources as the production of bio-fuels will threaten food supplies at the same time drawing people into a 'food versus fuel crisis' (Sulle and Nelson, 2009; Chachage and Baha, 2010; Chachage, 2011).

As large-scale plantations are expanding into areas rich in biodiversity and fertile lands, pressure on food security is likely to increase not only in terms of use but also in terms of land (space), agricultural inputs, and water involved in the production process. This is likely to increase food prices and consequently impact on women who are responsible for food security at the household level (Action Aid, 2009). In such a situation, women tend to lose out in various land-based investment issues including eviction, compensation, and loss of livelihoods and denied availability of and access to resources (Makwarimba and Ngowi, 2012; Bayene, Mung'ong'o, Atteridge and Larsen, 2013). Conversely, however, some argue that, agricultural investments boost food production, which eventually provides opportunities to men and women (Lugoe, 2010).

While the above literature establishes the relationship between food security, conflict and gender in rural areas of Tanzania, little is documented linking the three pins specifically in pastoral societies.

A study by Fenton observed that, food insecurity is present among the pastoral Maasai and access to safe and nutritious traditional food has been impaired with women being the most hit hardest by the impacts (Fenton, Hatfield and McIntyre, 2012). In the same vein Kiratu maintains that, as households face food shortages and high food prices, they tend to reduce food consumption, a situation that is indicated by a declining number of meals per day, with severe consequences for the household's nutritional status and gender (Kiratu, Marker and Mwakalobo, 2011). However, these works did not consider the role of other vulnerability factors such conflicts, in either instigating or as instigated by food security. While Benjaminsen et al (2009) intensively analyzed the complex issues related to land use conflicts in Kilosa, including the manner in which institutional context (e.g. marginalization policies, corruption) is related to the conflicts. Food security issues and gender relations were not part of their analysis. Mushi (2013) also examined climate related impacts, and in some way food security issues among the pastoral Maasai women in Kilosa. However, her work was did not link these impacts to different patterns of land use conflicts in the area, neither was the work ethnographic in nature. Built on a qualitative and an ethnographic –Inspired (Redding-Jones, 2005,p.72) extensive fieldwork research, this work now considers the Kilosa pastoral Maasai and

the way in which food insecurity, triggered or exacerbated by conflict, impacts upon pastoral women. Subsequent section provides an analysis of food (in) security in Kilosa, particularly among the pastoral Maasai, based on their traditional dietary practices.

6.5 Food Security in the Context of Kilosa

6.5.1 The Pastoral Maasai Dietary Practices

In order to understand food security or insecurity among the Maasai pastoralists, it is important to first understand their dietary practices. Even though there are several different working definitions of food security, all of which have evolved over time and space, this section argues as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations does: Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 1996). This definition suggests that, having food security, as a nation does not necessarily mean that all individuals living in that nation are food secure (Schmidhuber and Tubiello, 2007).

Food security is also a subjective element of food preferences. People can be food insecure because their local food preferences are no longer available as a result of the socio-economic and political processes and structures, whose effects are felt differently by different people. From my own observations and confirmed by interviews and FGDs hereafter, livestock, in particular cattle, goats, and sheep provide the main source of food in the form of milk, meat, and blood. Among the pastoral Maasai of Kilosa, milk is the main staple food. It is consumed fresh, or as sour (fermented) milk or mixed with tea. Milk is also used to make butter, ghee or cheese and is especially important for young children although not the main food. Women noted that ghee is usually used for cooking and body smearing especially for the health of the skin. Fat is considered important for children, especially infants, who are given liquid fat from sheep to promote health and strength.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ FGD with women at Mabwegere (same as 21 and 19)

All people usually consume fresh milk and we do not boil the milk because boiling takes away the nutrients. Children and younger children particularly uncircumcised boys drink more milk in order to get more nutrients for their growth. Uncircumcised boys mostly consume sour milk usually in the morning as breakfast before herding cattle. Yoghurt is consumed by people of all ages for it is a meal for everyone including women.²⁵²

The availability and consumption of milk varies seasonally being heavily dependent on rainfall and of course, on the number of cattle owned in the households. When milk is scarce, smaller quantities may be taken in the form of tea. Children's needs are prioritized.

Nowadays, we no longer drink milk as before... for it is no longer available in large quantity ... adults are forced to eat also vegetables like amaranth and beans for a meal. Children and young boys even have to take tea for breakfast because the number of cattle is not enough to provide enough milk for everyone use ...although women need the milk for their body, they are forced to drink less and serve the children.²⁵³

Several women in Kilosa agreed this phenomenon.

Nowadays milk is not in plenty as before ... we drink much less milk... We eat potatoes, rice chapatti, and banana stew. We do not have any other way to do... when we do not have enough food for the whole family, only the children and the older people eat first, and we eat later if it remains.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Interviews with woman in Mabwegere, November 10th, 2012

²⁵³ Interviews with woman in Mabwegere, November 10th, 2012

²⁵⁴ FGD with women in Ngaiti sub-village, November 13th, 2012

Maasai elders also confirmed that milk consumption arrangements have changed over time due to reduced herds. Milk and milk products were in the past, consumed at any time of the day by all age groups, although all the more so by young children.²⁵⁵ An elder noted,

Milk is our food... our main meal. When we say we have food, it means milk, meat and blood is in plenty and we are able to drink and eat them all the time...You know, traditionally, Maasai do not drink water, not even soft drinks like soda or juice, for we never had those things. If you feel thirsty you drink milk, if you are hungry you drink milk. Only that increasingly milk is no longer plenty as before ... cattle are no longer in large numbers as before...A household has more mouths that need to be fed, at the same time livestock numbers increase at a very slower pace and in an unreliable manner. We end up making tea for the children instead of milk, we eat more Ugali with less milk... we also drink water and soda what can we do?²⁵⁶

Meat is a second staple food to Maasai, eaten raw, dried or cooked, although not every kind of meat is considered acceptable as indicated in the following quote.

We eat beef and mutton only. We do not eat chicken, pork and fish...it has been a taboo to eat and we are still afraid to try eating them even when a household is in hunger or dying of hunger. Most of us keep chickens, but we don't eat them, they are just for sale and income generation in times of need.²⁵⁷

By its nature, meat cannot be consumed as often as milk; however is one of the staple foods of the Maasai. It is mostly taken during special occasions such as circumcision and

²⁵⁵ FGD with Maasai elders at Mabwegere, November 10th, 2012

²⁵⁶ Interview with the elder at Mabwegere, November 10th, 2012

²⁵⁷ Interview with woman at Mabwegere, November 11th, 2012

marriage ceremonies. Meat is also used to prepare soup, the recipe varying according to the occasion.

On some occasions, specific herbs are used...when we make soup for a mother who has just delivered a baby, we use specific herbs as medicines and also as a stimulant in milk production for the baby... likewise, for the boys who are from circumcision, they also have their own herbs in use.²⁵⁸

Although meat is considered one of the staple foods among the Maasai, only young and healthy cattle are slaughtered (depending on the number of cattle available). Cattle that are deemed too old or likely to be infected with diseases are regarded as not ideal for slaughtering. Similarly, it is not permitted to slaughter cattle that are involved in ploughing activities because they are regarded like human beings. It was observed that meat availability has been decreasing with time in Kilosa due to decrease in number of cattle availability within household. This has compelled some pastoralists to gradually shift from meat as staple food to other types of food as noted in the quotation below from an elderly woman. Meat is no longer available as before. This situation is forcing us to sell them in the market and get money to buy beans, meat and for other food needs.²⁵⁹

Other women lamented that meat is no longer easily available for their consumption as it used to be in the past, and instead has to be sold in a market, which is unaffordable for many, especially those with large families ranging from 8 to 15 members (picture 13).²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Interview with woman at Mabwegere, November 11th, 2012

²⁵⁹ Interview with woman at Mabwegere, November 11th, 2012

²⁶⁰ FGDs with women in Mabwegere, November 11th, 2012



Picture 13: Slaughtered goat for sale at Kilosa market

Blood is another component of the Maasai diet and is tapped directly from the jugular vein, which is found at the throat of the cow [Picture 15]. It may be consumed direct, without mixing, mixed with milk, or even consumed in its clotted (jelly-like) form”.²⁶¹ It may also be an ingredient of soups mixed with bark for therapeutic purposes. Its consumption is reserved for special occasions and in recent times is waning. Women noted that blood may be consumed when an animal is to be slaughtered or when a household member loses blood, particularly after childbirth or circumcision, with the belief that the blood is helpful for health and healing.²⁶² Blood was consumed more often in the past however,

I remember when were very young, together with my brothers we drank blood. Every other day a cow was restrained and we will put a rope around his neck to make its jugular vein bulge out, and my brother will shoot the vein with an arrow for blood, then an elder sister of mine will bring a wooden bottle known as a

²⁶¹ FGD with women at Mabwegere, November 11th, 2012

²⁶² FGD with women at Mabwegere, November 11th, 2012

gourd and collect certain amount of blood for us to drink, then the cow will be left to continue walking normally.²⁶³



Picture 14: A young Maasai boy draining blood from the cattle

An elder noted the cultural importance of the traditional diet.

In our tradition, a diet of milk, meat and blood is considered as the ideal kind of food, while other we are increasingly consuming in large quantity like Ugali, rice and chapatti are considered as unworthy food. Our traditional foods used to distinguish us as Maasai from the waswahili who eat cultivated crops as their staple foods. Due to loss of our staple foods as a result of loss of cattle, loss of land, droughts and many forces, we are eating cereals. However, very strong and strict taboos are still attached to fish and pork.²⁶⁴

Again, another respondent had this to say during the FGD:

²⁶³ Interview with woman at Mabwegere, November 10th, 2012

²⁶⁴ Interview with the Maasai elder at Mabwegere, November 10th, 2012

We have witnessed several changes in relation to our food systems...Nowadays we eat rice, ugali, vegetables and even chicken. These used to be not food at all to us, the Maasai. That is why you find some of our children are weak because they are being breast fed only, without being given milk. They cannot become strong without taking milk from cattle. ²⁶⁵

The above results suggest that, the Maasai have their own traditional food systems, which they have been unable to take increasingly due to some several changes above. They depended on raw foods such as sour milk. If the cattle is no longer there, it means the dietary system changes and this means food insecurity. Maasai elders view is that food security exists when 'the whole community is able have access to their traditional staple foods whenever they feel the need of having them' and 'when grazing land and inputs required for livestock production are also in enough supply'²⁶⁶. Women were of the opinion that food security depends on 'the presence of enough milk for everyone at all times and when milk can also be consumed in a variety of traditionally acceptable forms (fresh and fermented milk) used as a meal and a thirst quencher'.²⁶⁷ Women also felt that meat should be in sufficient supply for everyone to eat, both in dried and in cooked form and blood should be accessible from the cow whenever a need or an occasion required it. For this, sufficient land for grazing through different seasons and collection of water and firewood was necessary.²⁶⁸

Having examined the Maasai dietary practices and the manner in which the traditional food preferences are increasingly compromised, the subsequent section of this chapter examines how the noted longstanding conflicts around land in Kilosa [chapter 4] are

²⁶⁵ FGD with women at Kiduhi, November 12th, 2012

²⁶⁶ FGDs with Maasai elders in Kiduhi, Mabwegere, November 10th and 11th, 2012

²⁶⁷ FGDs with Maasai women in Kiduhi, and Mabwegere, November 10th and 12th, November, 2012

²⁶⁸ FGD with women at Kiduhi, November 12th, 2012

linked to food insecurity and its implications to gender. As noted early in this chapter, pastoral women are by default food managers. This was also confirmed: “As women; we are the chief partakers in food security in our households. We are the main producers and distributors of food, and it is also our role to maintain it by all means, otherwise our husbands batter us up. We are the last one to eat or not even eat in times of food shortage and let the children, family members and husband eat first”.²⁶⁹ This suggests that, given the noted insecurity of food in Kilosa, women are likely to be affected if conflicts will affect the local food systems. In this view of that, subsequent sections analyze how conflicts over land use [as presented in chapter 4] implicates on women in their roles as food managers.

6.6.2 Food Security, Conflict and Gender in the Context of Kilosa

This section examines closely how land based conflict and food insecurity is related in Kilosa, and how women come into this relationship. As was explained early in this thesis [chapter 4], a number of conflicts are taking place in Kilosa, and these have in different ways led to food insecurity. A report from the district council, Kilosa,²⁷⁰ revealed the following: Very often, when conflicts occurred in the district, communities tend to lose food in terms of livestock or grain. Conflict in 1955 in Italangwe village at Iyongwe ward resulted into loss of cattle and several bags of maize. The 1979 pastoralist-farmer conflict in Rujewa village resulted in a great loss of food on both sides and livestock. In 2000, Rujewa village was again hit with the “Kilosa Killings” in which 40 lives were lost and also household assets, cereals and livestock. Eight years later in Mambegwa, where 70 houses belonging to Maasai pastoralists were set on fire by farmers, severe food shortages occurred (1,599 cattle, 886 goats, 73 sheep and 60 bags of maize). Furthermore, in January 2013, another violent row between farming communities (from Mfulu, Mambegwa, Mbigiri and Dumila) and pastoralists of Mabwegere village re-

²⁶⁹ Interview with an elderly Maasai woman at Mabwegere village, 2nd October, 2012

²⁷⁰ United Republic of Tanzania (2011) Report on a situation of conflict between farmers and pastoralists in Kilosa District – as of June, 2011 Kilosa District Council, Tanzania

emerged. Five houses and a Toyota Land cruiser were destroyed and plundering of food from shops and houses owned by the Maasai community occurred with the loss of 1,599 cattle, 886 goats, 73 sheep and 60 bags of maize.²⁷¹ The rivals in the conflicts caused by the oppositions between pastoralists and farmers over land use consequently interrupted the local food production systems, in the sense that, animosities and hostilities created between pastoral and farming communities disrupted the different strategies habitually deployed by these people in food production.

One of the food production strategies habitually used by the Maasai, in this case the women to ensure food on the table is through the exchange of livestock products (e.g. milk and milk products like ghee, butter) when in excess with crops products like maize, rice, salts from the farmers or agro-pastoral communities. Sadly, as a result of on-going conflicts such as the one of 2000 (Rujewa – Mbuyuni), 2008, 2010 (Mabwegere)²⁷², it resulted into reduction in herd size, a situation which eventually limited the ability of women to have enough milk (even during wet seasons) which can be used in exchange for cereals and other household needs through sales or mutual exchange as a strategy to ensure food production. In the same vein, hostilities between two communities again curtailed the normal way of herding cattle and farming to both pastoralists and agro-pastoral communities from being carried out. Livestock were forced into starvations, for women who are often left alone as men goes to fight, fear the militias even after the conflicts, as consequent, they could not take the cattle for grazing for some time, as consequence, milk production ceased and this affected food for the family. Similarly, to agro-pastoralist communities, which use farming as a way to support their food systems, were also impacted because conflict destabilizes agro-production due to tense situation which forced them to run from their homes and abandon the farms in the wilderness. Thus, food production levels decreased, and this affected women by virtue of their key role as chief participants in the production, distribution and maintenance of food

²⁷¹ Interview with the village chairperson of Mabwegere, January 30th, 2013

²⁷² See chapter four for details of these conflicts in this thesis

security in their households. That is, even when houses were set ablaze as noted earlier, livelihood assets (including stored maize, kitchen utensils, and water barrels) also burned into ashes, women were the ones who struggled in fetching water, begging from their family members for food or even going hungry just to feed their children. These are confirmed hereunder.

The village chairperson of Mabwegere noted,

Kilosa has a long history of conflicts particularly between pastoralists and farmers. Whenever these conflicts occur, they disrupt agriculture and livestock production, marketing systems, and household food storage systems. For example, the conflicts which occurred in 2000 and 2008, many households in this village suffered from food loss. Many of them lost several bags of maize that was in stores, livestock and food storage containers. Many families ended up eating porridge and vegetables like amaranth. Feeding the youngest children was very hard. Mothers had to mix milk with water to increase their intake. [The 2008 conflicts] displaced communities, putting households in hunger and food stress.²⁷³

As noted, such events may hit women hard, as food providers.

Whenever conflict occurs, food such as milk, meat, and blood are disrupted, for it results into loss and displacement of cattle and loss of stored foods, causing food insecurity. Women are disproportionately impacted than men because it is their role to prepare food.²⁷⁴

A Parakuyo Maasai woman, Mama Edward concurred,

²⁷³ Interview with the village chairperson of Mabwegere, October 2nd, 2012

²⁷⁴ Interview with the district official, October 10th, 2012

I will never forget the hardships I went through in 2000 when our households were in a tense situation with the farmers. My house was set on fire and everything I had in the boma turned into ashes...bags of maize, chickens, milk and food in the calabash became ashes in few hours...This was a very hard situation... the little milk I got from the clan members I had to add more water into the milk to at least feed my children and myself...we lost 30 bags of maize, 50 cattle, 20 goats, and 10 chickens that were laying eggs. Four of my 10 children had to be housed by my clansmen as we could not be able to feed them... when children fail to get milk, they become unhealthy and vulnerable to diseases right? And this is what happened to most children that time. Women did also suffer from the situation, for some gave birth and found nothing to eat. Usually, nursing mothers consume food that is very rich in protein, fats, and energy such as fatty meat, ghee, milk, and fresh blood in order to produce breast milk food for their infants. Well these foods are no longer easy to get now. During conflicts, they become even hard to prepare and even to have them. We no longer have sheep to slaughter and make soups and food as in the past.²⁷⁵

In the same vein, from the FGDs with women I held in Mabwegere and Parakuyo, women also revealed that, conflicts impacted on their different income generating activities such as charcoal production, basket and matt weaving, bead making and vending of food and herbal medicines which women used as a strategy to earn income and buy food for their family, especially the children they care for. This impact on women occurred because, due to conflicts, they had to abstain from their activities for some time and this seriously affected their income sources so as food. While some lost their products, some could not continue in the business even though they had their woven baskets and Matts, herbal medicines in fear of the militias. For instance, since charcoal production is increasingly one of the alternative primary source of income by women (after men joining milk business), and much of their food supply is derived from the charcoal sales, conflicts forced these women to abandon their livelihood activities,

²⁷⁵ Interview with Mama Edward, a pastoral Maasai at Parakuyo sub village, 21st October, 2012

as consequent, it disrupted the income they expected from the sales as consequent lacking the economic power to buy food for their households as Mama Kelvin, one of the charcoal producers confirms:

On that day when conflict occurred, I was not at home, but in the bush with other women making charcoal. Already I had more than 20 bags of charcoal ready for sale, and the other one was still in the process. I remember how we had to flee and leave behind the bags. I took us couple of weeks to return to the area to fetch the charcoal, only to find that everything was all gone! At that time, my husband was working in one of the hotels in Zanzibar, and I was left with my son to care for and other family members in the house. Life was very tough for us, for we could not afford a meal, and my son had to skip meals. We do not have cattle, so I had to buy even milk! Other women also could not vend their products ²⁷⁶

The above results suggest that, food uncertainty created by conflicts affected different livelihood strategies of food production so as economic access to food and women by virtue of their home care roles suffered as they lose the economic power to manage their roles. This implies presence of food insecurity in Kilosa because habitual food production strategies, which these women used to ensure that food is available on the table, were disturbed by conflicts.

In the same vein, conflicts forcibly displaced pastoral populations and their livestock, as consequent, women and their children endured the greatest reductions in their access to food, for it affected their economic and physical access to food. Women noted during FGDs in Mabwegere and Parakuyo that, conflict [like of 2008] with the farmers of Mambegwa, they were forced to flee their homes with their children, leaving behind most of their food. Likewise, it also necessitated the moving of cattle to more secure areas further away, which deprived them of access to milk for the children and of the

²⁷⁶ Interview with Mama Kelvin at Parakuyo sub-village, 21st October, 2012

purchasing power, which usually comes from milk sales.²⁷⁷ In one of the FGDs, one woman noted,

Sometime after the conflict, which occurred in 2008, my husband, together with my co-wives and children relocated with large number of livestock to Rufiji. I had to remain here at home, along with other children and my in-laws too. My husband left with me some few older cows and several calves. Their relocation reduced milk production to the extent that I no longer have enough milk to even sell and get money to buy maize, salt and other household needs.²⁷⁸

The impact of displacement due to conflict has also been observed amongst the pastoralist Karimojong of Northern Uganda (Mkutu, 2008). Similarly, Lecoutere et al., (2009) observed similar results in Eastern Democratic of Congo, whereby conflict – induced displacement led into many lands being sold at low prices and agricultural activities to a virtual standstill.

Likewise, as noted by Flintan (2008) and Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) confirmed by my field work interviews hereafter, even in the course of conflicts, a woman has to maintain food provision roles regardless of the conflict situation, since usually it is a woman who is responsible for ensuring that food is available for the household and for herself. As consequent, conflict ensues like displacement, tend to impacts on women and children differently, because men leave the household to fight, while women shoulder male roles at home as well as their own, which squarely attach them to food provision and care taking. One pastoralist woman recalled:

When conflict occurred in 2008, men disappeared into the bush and we were left alone to struggle to feed the children in the hide. And even after the conflict, the situation was still tense...the *morans* could not come into the open for fear of

²⁷⁷ FGD with women at Mabwegere and Parakuyo, October, 2010, 2012

²⁷⁸ FGD with women at Mabwegere, 1st November, 2012

arrest by the police. This affected herding. We were forced to herd the cattle by ourselves...We had to herd, care for the children and prepare food for the family members...Some of our men are in the city working, and we are left alone to struggle, because no matter the circumstances, we have to prepare food as long as we are mothers.²⁷⁹

In summary, conflict in Kilosa is one of the factors which have strained traditional food consumption systems, forcing pastoralists to change their menu from dependence on milk and meat to consuming rice, maize, and other conventional foods, and changed the number of meals consumed in a day. Vlassenroot (2008) found similar observations in Walungu, Eastern DRC, where due to conflicts, local food consumption patterns have changed due to loss of livestock and fall in food production. However, their observations are short of linking, changing local food patterns, conflicts and women.

Furthermore, women in the FGDs I held in Mabwegere and Ngaiti sub-village revealed to me that, due to conflicts and its devastating impacts on herd size and pasture, new mobility patterns have emerged among the warriors. These in its totality are increasingly disrupting existing local food production, distribution and utilization systems, which were essentially gender defined. The warriors are increasingly drifting from their traditional roles of cattle herding and raiding and protect women and children to unpaid jobs in the cities. This new mobility pattern of warriors is increasingly having an impact on their traditional food production. In the sense that, these roles are forced to be shouldered by women and the younger children, which consequently increase women's workload thus leaving them with less time to engage in income generating activities, fetching water, milking as consequence it affects food production.

Equally, food systems are also disrupted as decision-making systems and processes are interrupted. As men are leaving the households, they leave behind women and the

²⁷⁹ Interview with a Maasai woman in Mabwegere village, 1st November, 2012

entire household members including the children to care for plus the livestock to tend. Unfortunately, since decision making roles among the Maasai are also gendered, in the sense that men decides on assets like livestock, land, and children, these women also noted that, the departure of men makes it much more difficult for some of them for they are now forced to tend livestock, care for the children, head households and yet unable to make certain decisions concerning slaughtering and even selling of cattle and goats, no matter the need be in the absence of men. This consequently affects their access to food not only in the households but also purchase from the markets as they lack purchasing power as confirmed by one of the pastoralist women hereunder:

Our pastoral life has become extremely difficult as a result a number of households do not have enough cattle. This means men especially the *morans* have to search other opportunities in the cities, leaving families being taken care of by women. It is a lot of work to them, meaning they have to feed the cattle, takes care of children and other family members in the household. Pastureland is rare as during dry season farmers, meaning that the quantity of milk for our children dwindles, use them. As a result no surplus milk to sell to get money for basic needs such as food, school fees and healthcare. Do you see these goats and cows? My husband left me in 2009 with these animals and the children. Now life is difficult in terms of what to eat and even the quantity of milk is not enough to provide for the children. I wish my husband was here he could have even decided to sell either the cows or the goats so that we can buy maize or move to another place, but he is not here and I do not know when he will be back²⁸⁰.

In the same vein, observations and personal interviews revealed a close link between deliberate choices opted by some households, decrease in food production and new trend of conflicts in Kilosa among pastoralists. These choices have on one hand resulting into net reduction of food availability not just to the women who are in charge of food production (*milking and food preparation*), but also to the consumption patterns and

²⁸⁰ Interview with an elderly Maasai woman in Ngaiti sub-village, 20th October, 2012

this again affects the children who depends on the feed from their mothers. On the other hand, these choices also due to its effect on net reduction of food availability, it in the end fuels cattle raiding and transform it from traditional to commercial raiding. This has impacts on food because, while with traditional herding, cattle were in some way recovered with counter-raiding, with commercialized raiding, large numbers of raided cattle are transferred to the cities for sales as meat, and this results into loss of cattle, decrease in milk production and consequently reduction in food availability. An elderly pastoralist woman in Mabwegere confirms this:

Lack of pastures, livestock and the increasing cases of land disputes, many pastoralists have decided to cut their number of herds while others have given up all. Some have entered into other new line of businesses like running restaurants or motorcycle popularly known as *bodaboda*. They ventured into this business of shuttling passengers as either owners or riders. However, motorcycle business is very challenging especially during rainy seasons as the roads become impassable, the number of passengers dwindles so does the income. This has an impact in the ability of men to run their households; as a result, it is we women who suffer with the children. In most cases we get single cents from the men-run business to buy food-related items. Shortage of cattle means we women do not have enough milk to feed our children or even sell some amount to increase our financial ability to purchase other basic needs. Such a dire situation has led to cattle rustling to raise money to procure motorcycles, construct restaurants as well as modern houses. Apparently, the impact of cattle rustling hit us hard, because as women we remain without milk which empower us not only financially; but also improve the health our children. What are we going to feed them while we do not have cow for milk and goat for meat?²⁸¹

In an interview with the village chairperson of Mabwegere, he confirmed:

²⁸¹ Interview with an elderly Maasai woman in Mabwegere village, 2nd November, 2012

Food shortage in the households is contributed by the new trend in which men are now disengaging from livestock production and deal with other forms of livelihood such as *bodaboda* business, crop farming. This has in effect in the sense that, the Maasai are not used to crop farming or even running *bodaboda* but rather to cattle rearing. As consequence, some end up losing their crops or even harvest very little. Some are unable to make effective use of the new sources of income and end into impoverishment. Sadly, due to impoverishments, and lack of guarantee to daily income to manage households, some are increasingly engaging in raiding their clansmen cattle for sale contrary to the past. Miserably, many of the households that are losing their cattle are those, which are headed by women, as they cannot fight with the raiders. This leaves them in much more complex situation to look after their children, since decrease in herd size means also decrease in food (milk) for home consumptions and sales.²⁸²

The above responses indicate that, due to conflicts, some households are increasingly forcibly shifting their livestock holding from cattle dependency into swift income related activities such as commuter services like *bodaboda* [Picture 16], hotels, farming and several other activities. These choices and changes have consequently reduced the value and the size of their herds to a larger extent, because they are forced to sell their livestock in order to invest on those. As consequence, there is net decrease of food for the households as well as reduction in number of cattle for sale during crisis. Within such a situation, access to normal dietary food on the on hand, and access to normal family life become hazardous to women who are main food producers and yet desperate and do not get any support to feed their entire households including their children.

²⁸² Interview with an elderly Maasai woman in Mabwegere village, 1st November, 2012



Picture 15: A male pastoralist in bodaboda business

This man [picture 10] above on the motorcycle *bodaboda* said he had to sell part of his cattle to buy it in order to sustain household needs.

Several women agreed that conflicts in Kilosa have resulted in the loss of livestock, particularly cattle, goats and ruminants like chickens and consequent food shortage across families. Many families had valuable food stores of maize for use during dry seasons where drought usually triggers high food prices. However, with reduction in herd size though sales for alternative investments, deaths, and shifting of cattle dependency into swift income related activities as noted above, has strained households and some families have lost out through looting and or raiding, and men are increasingly taking charge of milk sales²⁸³. Women confirmed that due to deterioration of pastures, some of their herds have been shifted far from Kilosa, and for those families whose cattle are still available, the freedom women initially had in relation to milk is increasingly reduced. “Men are increasingly into the milk business... they collect milk and sell into the markets.”²⁸⁴ This may also be afforded by access to *bodaboda*

²⁸³ FGD with women at Mabwegere village, 1st November, 2012

²⁸⁴ FGD with women in Ngaiti 10th November, 2012

(motorcycles), which some men own or use to shuttle milk around.²⁸⁵ Consequently, women suffer from loss of income from milk and food availability.²⁸⁶ This dynamic is supported by observations within the Agricultural and Livestock Policy document (1997) and Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe (2003), which note that where men control the output and have a final, say on it, it is very easily misused on non-household beneficial expenditure.

A woman concurred,

In the past, we would sell milk and get money and we were free to use in the manner we wish too... usually we end up buying food supplies and beads... we will make beads and sell them and get money to buy food. But when we do not have cattle, we no longer have milk; we no longer have money. Men are now in the milk business after selling their cattle. We will milk and they will take the whole milk to Dumila where there is a milk collection center for sale and leave us with nothing for use in the household. They will collect the money and we may sometimes end up not given even a single coin and still we have to cook ²⁸⁷

This implies that, due to conflicts, there is reduced access to cattle, and women are finding it much more difficult to have income they used to get from milk sales and to access other essential necessities. Several women agreed that conflicts in Kilosa have resulted in the loss of livestock, particularly cattle, goats and ruminants like chickens and consequent food shortage across families. Many families have valuable food stores of maize for use during dry seasons where drought usually triggers high food prices. Shifting of cattle has strained households as noted and some families have lost out

²⁸⁵ Personal observed findings during field visits in October, 2012

²⁸⁶ Personal observed findings during field visits in October, 2012

²⁸⁷ Interview with a woman at Mabwegere, October 22nd, 2012

through looting.²⁸⁸ Through reduced access to cattle, women have found it more difficult to sell milk and therefore to access other necessities. Similar results were reported by Fenton et al (2012) and Ngailo (2011) who contend that, loss of access to milk affects women's capabilities to access food as livestock contribute to over 60% of income required to buy food.

However, their observations are short of linking food insecurity with conflict and women, where issues of markets high prices of milk and increase in milk demand has now created more markets for milk, as consequence, men are opting for it, leaving women are left with nothing to manage household roles including food. Conflict affects markets in the sense that, when there's violence and or when there is drought or floods as natural violence, the markets cannot operate in the same way. Likewise, when there is war like in the Western Sudan's Darfur of 2004, which scholars like Messer et al (2000) named it a food war²⁸⁹, or the one taking place in South Sudan today, people cannot concentrate on food production. They are running or even engage in looting. In some other cases however, markets can also influence conflict, in the sense that, when goods of first necessity like corn or maize, rice, milk, as main food are missing and people think that they can be found elsewhere or they have been taken somehow by other people, they will engage in violence in order to recuperate them. In the case of Kilosa, due to conflicts, less and less cattle are available; as a result; there is less and less milk. Consequently, women find it hard to have enough for the family. Moreover, in households where milk is somehow plenty, men take the milk business from women, since there is nothing else for them to do in Kilosa after selling their cattle. As a result, women are left with nothing, they cannot sell, they cannot get money, and things become difficult for them to manage their household chores particularly food related roles for their children. High prices of milk and increase in milk demand has now

²⁸⁸ FGD with women at Mabwegere, October 22nd, 2012

²⁸⁹ Food wars is a concept relating to the use of food (hunger) as a weapon in active conflict and the food insecurity that accompanies and follows as a consequence (See Messer et al., 2000:pg.1)

created more markets for milk, as consequence, men are opting for it and as consequence, women are left with nothing to manage household roles including food. This result implies that, as a result of conflicts, women economic access to food is curtailed and they suffer a lot with their children. This is confirmed by Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers who observed similar results in DRC and note that, in a conflict situation, markets as “mediating structures” influence livelihoods diversification and ‘adaptation’ mechanisms (Vlassenroot, 2008; Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2008; Raeymaekers, 2008). However, the work of these authors falls short of linking the markets as mediation structures that influence women’s livelihoods diversification and ‘adaptation’ mechanisms as they struggle to shoulder their roles as food managers in the midst of loss of livestock and assets.

I also found that, as a result of conflict and its ensues on physical and economic access to food, the traditional social structures which provided guaranteed safety nets to support those in needs including of food are breaking down. Within these structures for example, women despite their secondary rights of access to land and livestock, where privileged to be the main food producers, hence they never used to worry much of what to feed their entire households, including their children and themselves. With conflicts, new mobility patterns of men as noted earlier, women are no longer able to produce as before. Some are even left to head households. As a result, women, left alone to head households are finding it harder to survive thus increasingly forced to migrate to the cities in search for alternative economic niches such as vending milk, herbal medicines, beads, thinking that they would be able to earn money to suffice buying food and maintain their life. But in return, some have been unable to succeed because of the competition in the business they do in the cities with men and other Maasai women. As a result, the little money they earn does not suffice to cater for their daily food needs for themselves and their children. Notably, contrasting men who leave their homes alone, these women are with their children to care for. Worse enough, some women have opted to engage in illegal business such as prostitution in order to get money for food, a situation that makes them prone too much more vulnerabilities such as

contamination of diseases like HIV/AIDS.²⁹⁰ Unlike in their rural life where all is shared and social networks acts as safety nets to support those in needs including of food, life in the cities is quite different as these women confirms during FGDs I held in Ngaiti and Parakuyo sub- villages. These women noted that, life in the cities is very expensive and money centered beginning with eating, getting water for drinking and washing clothes and bathing, and a place to sleep. As a consequence, some of their fellow women are forced to engage into risky sexual behaviors in order to earn a living when business seems not to work to even afford their daily meals for themselves and their children²⁹¹.

An elderly pastoral woman confirms:

This urban life is extremely difficult, but what can we do? I feel blessed because I for me I still manage to procure milk from the rural areas and sell to make my end meet, as I do not have young children who count on me for basic needs like food. I really pity other women who live here with their young ones. Unlike in the village where a child can be fed on milk, maize or corn meal and life goes on, here children have come across other foods like potato fries which costs 600 Tanzanian shillings per plate and they want to have it with a bottle of juice which costs between 300 and 500 Tanzanian shillings or even more. To a mother with more than one child it becomes very expensive to manage a day meal, consequently, some are forced to starve or even skip meals and let their children eat. Sadly, some are into prostitutions to at least earn an income to supplement what they have in order to buy foods²⁹²

²⁹⁰ Given the presence of polygamy among the Maasai society and an increase in new mobility patterns, it will be interesting to look at the link between food (in) security related issues and HIV/AIDS among the pastoralists.

²⁹¹ FGD with women held in Ngaiti and Parakuyo sub villages, October, 2012

²⁹² Interview with Mama John, an Ilparakuyo Maasai pastoralist from Ngaiti sub-village in Morogoro town, October, 2012

The above responses indicate that these women are now forced to migrate to cities and are engaging in business. This implies that, there is increasing disintegration (breakdown) of the strong pastoral social structure and culture, which have been in existence for some time due to food insecurity as triggered by conflict situation in Kilosa. Mung'ong'o also replicates these results in a study and Mwamfupe (2003) and Mung'ong'o (2010) who observed that, social structures of the Maasai pastoralists are in most parts of Tanzania are increasingly breaking down. However, their observations particularly of Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe fall short of linking the disintegration of pastoral social structures with conflict and gender.

Given the wider socio-economic and political instabilities conflict brings into the pastoral livelihoods, it clear that their impact varies between men and women and within women as well.²⁹³ However, regardless of the variations in its impacts to households, from my observations and confirmed by personal interviews and FGDs in Kilosa as noted above, it is clear that the Maasai are food insecure because conflicts have strongly affected their local food systems. Contributing to the food insecure situations is also policy decisions [e.g. Operation Kilosa, land alienation programmes as explained hereafter] by the government, which intended to mitigate conflicts related uncertainties, associated with food supplies. Unfortunately these decisions are increasingly creating food uncertainty to pastoralists regarding food availability, access, and its utilization as confirmed hereunder.

6.6.3 Operation Kilosa

Pastoral communities utilize foraging strategies based on mobility (seasonal migrations or transhumance) in order to access pasture and water occurring in an unpredictable physical environment (Fratkin, 2003; Nelson 2012). In their traditional systems, pastoral communities manage livelihood risks by planning their moving their livestock

²⁹³ From the results, conflicts have also opened up new hopes for women, and increasingly women are increasingly managing properties like land, livestock; assets were predominantly were under the main domain and women had secondary rights to use.

on a daily and seasonal basis to follow changes in the quality and quantity of pasture (IFAD, 1995). This implies that, movements from one point to another are well planned normally, and thus involuntary movements such as sudden evictions is likely to have serious impacts on the livelihoods including local food systems of those who were evicted (Ngailo, 2011). As default home and food managers, women endure the brunt of these effects.

From my observations and confirmed with the work of Msigwa and Mvena (2014), and from field work data (personal interviews and FGDs held in sub-villages) hereafter, the Operation Kilosa (OKI)²⁹⁴ described early in this thesis [chapter 5] created severe consequences on pastoralist local food systems which depend on cattle, large herd sizes and a large land size for grazing. OKI led into displacement and relocation of people and livestock particularly cattle and goats, which in the end, disrupted food systems and made traditional foods unavailable and or inadequate altogether due to loss of storage foods and livestock. Sadly, unlike men, these effects were felt more by women whose roles are attached to food. Both economic and physical accesses to food sources were affected. Households were left with very little milk and in some nothing at all, a situation, which altered their dietary system including the number of meals per day, reduced. An elder explained,

The eviction exercise intended to only destock and evict pastoralists who invaded into Kilosa from Ihefu valleys. However, the manner in which it was carried out ended up affecting innocent communities consequently resulting in

²⁹⁴ The issue of pastoral eviction in Kilosa of October 2009 is extensively discussed in chapter 5 with land reforms. In the chapter, I have explained how the state carried a livestock destocking exercise known as operation Kilosa (OKI) and its impacts on pastoral livelihoods. In this chapter, I will only provide an empirical discussion on how OKI is linked to food insecurity among the Maasai pastoralists in Kilosa district

food shortage ...in my opinion this was not the intention of the circular that the government issued.²⁹⁵

A council official confirmed this,

Due to the lack of an effective coordination mechanism between ministries, district councils and village authorities, evictees were in most cases local communities who had lived in the district for many years. A large number of livestock especially cattle were impounded, and re-located to Lindi and Rufiji, with some being forced by circumstances to be sold at giveaway prices. Relocation had severe impacts on women because; during the whole period, which lasted weeks, local food systems changed drastically, they could not easily find food for the children.²⁹⁶

Looting was another effect of the eviction.

Some security officials who were involved in enforcing the evictions of the pastoralists were also involved in the looting. They took whatever they get during the process ranging from food items such as cattle, goats, chicken and cereals to household items such as kitchen utensils and water barrels.²⁹⁷

District security officials concurred that, cases of unethical involvement of the security officials during the operation were reported, and the district office dealt with them.²⁹⁸ The village chairperson of Mabwegere lamented the way, in which the government failed in its responsibility to the pastoralists,

²⁹⁵ Interview with a Maasai elder at Mabwegere, October 20th, 2010

²⁹⁶ Interview with a council official in Kilosa, October 2010

²⁹⁷ Interview with a pastoral woman in Mabwegere village, October 20th, 2010

²⁹⁸ FGD with district security officials, Kilosa, October, 2010

The Operation destocked us not only the livestock but also cereals... in my view, the operations aimed at ruining us from our wealth and let us die of hunger. The government has never been there to help us but rather, pushing us into more problems and hunger. For example, when floods occurred in 2009, victims of floods secured food and shelter support from the government and donors ...this was not the case for the Maasai although we suffered from eviction.²⁹⁹

Women by virtue of their roles suffered differently. Mama Theresia Mapindu described her experience of eviction in Mabwegere and in the absence of government support, echoes the description of assistance by clan members:

The state of food became very tense during and after the eviction... we survived without food. We could not even get Ugali. Not only did they take our cattle, goats, sheep, they also took some bags of maize from the stores and put into their cars. We lost 347 cattle and 120 goats and sheep. There was nothing we could do, we just had to stand and watch them taking away everything from the house. We spend couple of days not knowing what to feed the children, for we never had cattle to milk. We could have prepared Ugali for the children, but it was difficult because even the stored stocks of maize disappeared. Some little savings I had kept in the house from milk sales was all gone! It was very hard to survive with nearly 36 mouths to feed including children who are used to having milk as their food every day, and they are also used to enough food because my husband would sell his cattle to buy food and other necessities. We sometimes had only 1 meal (as opposed to 2) mainly maize...with vegetables and the little milk obtained was given to children...We never had enough time to plan our relocation, we never expected to be touched by eviction because we are not from Ihefu.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹ FGD District Security Officials in Kilosa, 19th October, 2010

³⁰⁰ Interview with Mama Theresia Mapindu at Mabwegere village, October 23, 2012

The above interviews suggest that, eviction in Kilosa made food availability much more complex, and women due to their roles as food managers faced difficulties in ensuring that children have food. Food sharing was also limited as most people had less food. Similar results were found by Fenton et al who argued that, food sharing is one of coping strategies deployed by Maasai women when food supplies are limited (Fenton et al., 2012).

However in Mabwegere, food shortage was so severe that even food sharing broke down, leading to loss of life of one elderly woman died of hunger. Her daughter described what happened:

My mother lost several cattle and goats during the eviction, and as result milk, beef and even ghee was no longer available for her. Her livestock were impounded and she could not afford to regain them. We were to pay a lump sum of money, which we could not afford. No one was able to provide milk for her during that time, as they also lost their cattle. We tried to buy powdered milk to feed her, but she refused it, as she could not handle the taste my mother died of hunger couple of days after the eviction...³⁰¹

Women lamented that they could not even manage to save the life of the old woman and that no food assistance was offered by the council to her and similar victims.

Along the same line, from the FGDs with women in Mabwegere as confirmed by other sources (e.g. Ndaskoi, 2006), the Maasai who relocated to new places such as Rufiji district, faced problems with pastures and unfertile soils for farming, and water facilities for livestock and domestic use, as consequence food production decreased. In the same vein, families, which were left behind, (mostly women and children) face difficulties to access the relocated livestock. As a result, some women were incapable to milk the livestock as they were kept so far from the home, thus resulting into families missing milk and meat; one of the main foods among the Maasai. During FGDs in

³⁰¹ Interview with Esther, Mabwegere, 20th August, 2013

Mabwegere, women described how some men were relocated to new areas with cattle, leaving women in Kilosa. Herds were split and reduced as much of the healthy, tough and hardy animals were cheaply sold to take care of the impounded and relocation costs. An elderly woman and a victim of eviction confirm:

We had 500 cows, 100 goats and 50 sheep. But the operation had forced my husband to move to Rufiji with almost all of them, leaving me with two cows. The milk from the two is not enough for me to make my ends meet. I cannot provide for the whole family, and the issue is that I have never been to the place called Rufiji, where my husband had moved. If only I could go there, I would have taken some milk for sell and for home consumption. Before the eviction the milk supply was bulky and we would take some to Dumila for sell and earn some cash, but as for now, that is not possible³⁰²

While literature indicates that food sharing is one of coping strategies Maasai women deploy when food supplies are limited (Fenton et al., 2012), on the contrary from my observations and checked with personal interviews in Mabwegere village, revealed a different case when eviction is involved. Conflict induced eviction led to severe food shortage to the extent that even food sharing traditions among clansmen could not work during that time. As a result, apart from starvations, which were endured by several households, one elderly woman died from psychological trauma and hunger after losing her livestock and fails to get milk. Her daughter described what happened:

My mother lost several cattle and goats during the eviction, and as result milk, was no longer available for the household and her. Her livestock were impounded and she could not afford to regain them. We were to pay a lump sum of money, which we could not afford. No one was able to provide enough milk for her during that time, as they also lost their cattle and the priority of who should be given milk was on the children. We tried to buy powdered milk to feed

³⁰² Interview with a Maasai woman at Mabwegere, October, 2012

her, but she refused it, as she could not handle the taste my mother died of hunger couple of days after the eviction...³⁰³

The women in FGD also confirmed the loss of their fellow woman and lamented that, it was pity that they could not even manage to save the life of the old woman and that no food assistance was offered by the council to her and similar victims.³⁰⁴

These above results indicate that, conflict in Kilosa resulted into food insecurity in the sense that, evictions, resulted into problems with availability of food and access to safe and nutritious food, particularly the main food among the Maasai (milk, meat); at the same time making proper preparation of food that is available much more complex. Thus, it becomes evident that food insecurity in Kilosa is not only linked to conflict but also it is a state accelerated situation in the sense that, as the government tries to take care of one conflict (pastoralists and farmers), it only to raises many other conflicts and challenges that blocks people's access to food and disrupts the traditional food flows.

In the long term the state, instead of creating interventions that support different livelihoods in the society, rather fuels impoverishment and food insecurity, with women bearing the brunt of this. The Maasai (those who transferred to Rufiji for example) ended not having a land to cultivate and graze their cattle because the local community such as the Sukuma who happened also to be pastoralists did not accept to also share the same space with them. Consequently, Maasai's access to grazing and to the normal lifestyle became almost impossible. Within such a situation, access to normal dietary food on the on hand, and access to normal family life become hazardous to women who are traditionally food producers and managers, depends on their relations with men to access land.

³⁰³ Interview with Esther, Mabwegere, 20th August, 2013

³⁰⁴ FGD with women at Mabwegere village, October, 2010

Therefore, lack of men's access to land, has disastrous effect on women who are expected to fetch firewood and water, cultivate maize and tend animals as source of food for the entire household including the children they care for. The results are replicated in other pastoral areas of Tanzania where studies by Brockington (2001; 2002), Tenga et al. (2008), and Ngailo (2011) observed that, pastoralist evictions have resulted into impoverishment of the pastoral economy with impacts on food systems, since it is associated with absence of land for livestock keeping and crop farming, hence food insecurity situation dominates. However, these works again falls short of linking the conflict factor of eviction to women and the children they care for. This work therefore argues that, food insecurity in Kilosa is not only just directly related to conflicts, but also indirectly related to conflicts, due to state mitigation efforts to curb conflicts. Food insecurity in Kilosa is not only directly linked to conflicts, but also it is a state accelerated situation.

6.6.4 Land Alienations

Noted in chapter 3 of this thesis, are the different dynamics of land reform policies in Tanzania, and Kilosa in particular which have placed an emphasis on bringing green revolutions in agriculture through crop farming. From my observations as confirmed by other sources [personal interviews and FGDs], these reform programmes such as Kilimo Kwanza [Agriculture first] policy initiatives even though on the one hand increase food production, on the other hand, they exacerbate food uncertainties to other land users such as pastoralist, and Maasai pastoralist women in particular due to the fact that pastoralists are alienated from the land and investors are given. Pastoral alienations by the state in various parts of Kilosa, Ngaiti-Luhoza sub village in particular impacts on the local food systems of the Maasai.

Land reforms as described previously are paving the way for large-scale investment opportunities in agricultural farming at the expense of pastoralism, which requires a large land size and a communal tenure system. Kilosa district, including Mkata ranch has been identified as one of the districts favorable for agriculture under the Southern

Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT)³⁰⁵ resulting in the surveying of the entire district and creation of formal land use plans, eradicating the seemingly ‘empty’ spaces so valuable to pastoralists during dry seasons. Due to promising improve productivity; quality and value addition expected from SAGCOT, Mkata ranch, located in Kilosa district is set to privatize its 19,446 hectares of land (NARCO, 2013).³⁰⁶

Land parcels traditionally used by the Maasai for grazing, fetching firewood, and water in Kilosa, [in this case Ngaiti sub-village] are increasingly given to individuals and groups as investors for large-scale farming. Similarly, some land parcels are converted into conserved areas of forests. Consequently, the local pastoralist population are experiencing limited access to land as their livelihood system require vast of land as validated in the following interviews. An elder in Ngaiti gave his view,

The investors and local farmers are taking the best lands that we ever used for grazing...all the government is thinking about is farming and not pastoralism...As a result, we are left with very marginal land which is not quite enough for livestock grazing. When feeds are not adequate, incomes are reduced and the capacity to buy food is also decreasing... our economy is melting... as a man, I am no longer able to provide food for my family... because cattle meant everything, including food.³⁰⁷

The village sub-chairman lamented the lack of rights afforded to pastoralists in this,

³⁰⁵ This is a public-private partnership that aims to boost agricultural productivity in Tanzania and the wider region, and thereby achieve the country’s agricultural strategy. SAGCOT will promote “clusters” of profitable agricultural farming and services businesses, with major benefits for smallholder farmers and local communities. By catalyzing large volumes of responsible private investment, the initiative aims to deliver rapid and sustainable agricultural growth and thereby tackle food security, poverty reduction and reduced vulnerability to climate change.

³⁰⁶ http://www.sagcot.com/fileadmin/documents/IPP_Livestock_Mkata_Site_Profile.pdf

³⁰⁷ Interview with Maasai elder in Ngaiti sub-village, 10th November, 2012

When it comes to land survey, we are not involved. For example, when the land surveyors came to survey the land at Mkata ranch, we saw them busy also in Ngaiti, but little did we knew that they were also surveying our land without us being involved... In the end, the land was given to investors...we no longer have land for grazing...farming...as a result, milk production is dropping day by day.³⁰⁸

The reform programme has focused only on agricultural revolution, which excludes traditional livestock farming. Affirming to this is Flintan who observed that; land reforms in the pastoral societies of Tanzania have challenged the Maasai local food systems (Flintan, 2011). A pastoral woman concurred,

We pastoral Maasai find it very difficult to survive day by day. The government does not appreciate us not even our livestock at all; instead they value agricultural farming more than our livestock. We are told by the government to destock and do away with pastoralism, how are we going to survive? Livestock is food and everything to us.³⁰⁹

Her description becomes more enlightening,

I personally do not have a problem with their intention; for I also can see how demands for land have increased and that we no longer have enough space for ourselves. However, what makes me sad and pity my fellow Maasai is that, we were told years ago, that they will bring modern cattle breeds which produce more milk, meaning that we will keep fewer cattle, less grazing land, in sedentarise form and get more milk in the end. But we have not seen the cattle yet and land is decreasing day by day, and these impacts on feed availability for the cattle and food for the households. We do not have land even to grow vegetables like amaranth. We were very dependent on milk that we sell; we

³⁰⁸ Sub-village chairperson at Ngaiti in Ngaiti sub-village, 10th November, 2012

³⁰⁹ Interview with an elderly Maasai woman at Ngaiti- sub village, November 12th, 2012

could buy cornmeal and other foods. But now we are no longer the capable mothers as before.³¹⁰

Alienation is also bringing in the money economy into the pastoral home, as this woman also lamented as follows:

The loss of grazing land and livestock has forced men to do away with herding roles and embark on the milk business. Milk business is now a man's area in many of the households. Men will collect the whole available milk in the households and take it to Dumila to sell. What we are left with is the milking role. Sometimes they will only leave for us very few liters for the children and the calves, and the rest goes with them to the markets. Food preparation becomes very difficult, because even upon sale of the milk, the money they get belongs to them. We sometimes beg and will only get very little money or nothing... yet they need to find food when they return in the evening.³¹¹

Women noted, "Men are increasingly into the milk business... they collect milk and sell into the markets."³¹² This may also be afforded by access to *bodaboda* (motorcycles), which some men own or use to shuttle milk around.³¹³ Consequently, women suffer from loss of income from milk and food availability.³¹⁴

³¹⁰ Interview with a woman at Parakuyo sub-village, November, 2012

³¹¹ Interview with a woman at Ngaiti in Ngaiti sub-village, 10th November, 2012

³¹² FGD with women in Ngaiti sub-village, 10th November, 2012

³¹³ FGD with women in Ngaiti sub-village, 10th November, 2012

³¹⁴ Personal observed findings during field visits in October, 2012

This dynamic is supported by observations within the Agricultural and Livestock Policy document (1997), which notes that where men control the output and have a final say on it, it is very easily misused on non-household beneficial expenditure (URT, 1997).³¹⁵

Consequences of land alienation to food systems is also seen in fuelling the emergence of money economy into the pastoral economies and impacts are seen in the pastoral home, and its impacts on household. When pastoral economies were traditional, women's access to cattle wealth was part of that, but now the market economy is coming in, women access to the wealth they had before is disappearing. The traditional gendered power relations over resources mediates their access to milk, and this time is to their loss, where some (men) have more and some (women) have less. Gender discrimination increases because men are the ones with much more access to different aspects of economy than women. That is, they can be employed and they are paid, and they can easily move around with things to sale to other people. And they have more access to cash than women. Because of that, the new market is empowering more men than women because women are entering into market regulated economy without enough economic muscle to wield power. Besides, with less education they have, they end up being much more affected (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003).

Alienation has other effects, which indirectly impact on food security:

We are sometimes forced to trespass in order to reach the water ponds... or take a very long route due to the fact that most areas have turned into farms...making access to rangeland grazing land complex due to disruption of the existing stock routes. Loss of access to grazing land has resulted into reduction in herd size and has implications in milk supplies and income. ³¹⁶

The issue of these restrictions is explored in greater detail in chapter 3.

³¹⁵ The Agriculture and Livestock Policy, Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (1997:p 3)

³¹⁶ Anna, 21st October, 2012

Thus land alienation for crop cultivations has led to deterioration in food security of pastoralists and the removal from women of their power to manage these resources for the home. Instead of providing women with opportunities to increase food production and access credit facilities, legislation has undermined women's access to land by failing to also reform the customs that mediates their access to land consequently contradicting with government policy on privatization and gender. These results reflect the nature of the various policies pursued based on containment, pacification and modernization of pastoralists by the government of the United Republic of Tanzania. One of them is the statement issued by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency Dr. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete who said that:

Mr. Speaker, we must modernize animal husbandry. We will have no alternative. We must abandon altogether nomadic pastoralism which makes the whole country pastureland... the cattle are bony and pastoralists are skeletons. We cannot move forward with this type of pastoralism in the twenty first century. We will take deliberate measure to improve the livestock sector. Our people must change from being nomadic cattle herders to being modern livestock keepers... (Hansard, December 30, 2005).

From the above statements, it is clear that the government see nomadic pastoralism as a livelihood system which is not good in comparison to crop farming; thus requiring modernization in order to increase food production. As consequence, as the government promote individual and commercial farming (e.g. through the Agricultural Revival Programme ' Kilimo Kwanza' policy initiatives), less recognition is given to communal grazing land for pastoralists, even though pastoralism has a major contribution to food security in Tanzania (in terms of its contribution in production of beef, milk) (Kipuri and Sorensen, 2009). This situation further alienates and disrupts local food production systems of the Maasai pastoralists, a burden which is largely felt by women who are

traditionally positioned as default household food managers (Gritli, 1997)³¹⁷; Flintan, 2008, Eyenew and Mengistu, 2013).

If the government thinks pastoralism is not productive in comparison to crop farming, it is high time the government should think of supporting pastoral transformation or converting the Maasai pastoralists in other types of livelihood activities or works, which they think, should do such as ranching. As noted also in chapter 3 of this thesis, inducing change without a support to the transformation process undermines the ability of Maasai women in land ownership given the secondary position these women have in their own communities. Consequently, such a situation affects their access to food, food production and availability (Homewood, Chevenix and Kristjanson, 2009). Therefore state generated actions through land policies are responsible in part for food insecurity amongst the Maasai women and their families. In the context of Tanzania, particularly Kilosa, the government has failed to address aspects of access to food particularly to the minorities and marginalized groups, in this context the Maasai pastoralist women.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter set out to examine Kilosa pastoral Maasai and the way in which food insecurity, triggered or exacerbated by conflict, impacts upon pastoral women. Food security according to the Maasai does not only concern with food availability but also food preference. According to their own definitions, the Maasai are suffering food insecurity due to a decline in cattle, which in turn relates to a decline in available grazing land. They are forced to adjust their traditional diet to include new foods, which they perceive as having little benefit to them. This suggests that they are not necessarily starving! Studies by FAO (2009), Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe (2003) and also by Fenton et al (2012) also noted that food security in pastoral societies is subjective to preference. A diet of milk, meat and raw blood from domesticated livestock, cattle in particular is considered the ideal kind of food among the pastoral Maasai (Århem, 1989, p. 77). This

³¹⁷ <http://www.fao.org/ag/Agp/AGPC/doc/litnw2st.htm>

implies that, to pastoral Maasai all other foods are unworthy and eating them may be signifies insecurity of food.

However, as I have noted earlier in this chapter, food security is not only limited to food availability but also concerns with food preferences for a healthy and an active way of life (FAO, 2001; Vlassenroot et al., 2006). The fact that Maasai have made an adjustment in food consumption patterns from meat or milk to more cereals and vegetables may not be necessarily a bad thing from nutritional perspective, but if certain foods are culturally unacceptable, people might go hungry rather than eat them, or conversely sustaining the supply of the new cereal based foods might be incompatible with current nomadic lifestyles and livelihoods. Furthermore it is established that a diet high in carbohydrate and sugar (sodas being consumed instead of water) is detrimental to health, leading to an increased risk of modern illnesses such as heart disease and stroke, and dental cavities.³¹⁸ Perhaps this is will in the future become new food insecurity in the pastoralists they will have to deal with, because overconsumption of dietary energy leads to overweight and obesity (Sedik, Sotnikov and Wiesmann, 2003).

This work argues that cultural food preferences are important because they are intertwined with beliefs about health, livelihoods and sustainability of food supply. Moreover, when change is forced upon a community it strains individuals and households involved and hurt certain vulnerable people, in this case the pastoral Maasai women who are by default; food producers, distributors and managers including maintenance of food security. Scholars, I believe, should avoid looking at this kind of changes as necessarily positive, they should avoid making the kind of mistakes that the concept (civilization) had and still has in many parts of Africa where the alienation of specific cultural aspect will be called civilization. Anyway here, there is no deliberate choice to move towards new kinds of food, it be by lack of access to their preferences as noted in a Swahili proverb "*Simba akikosa nyama, hula nyasi*" [literally translated as when lion misses meat, it will eat grass!]. In the same vein, the Maasai lacking access to

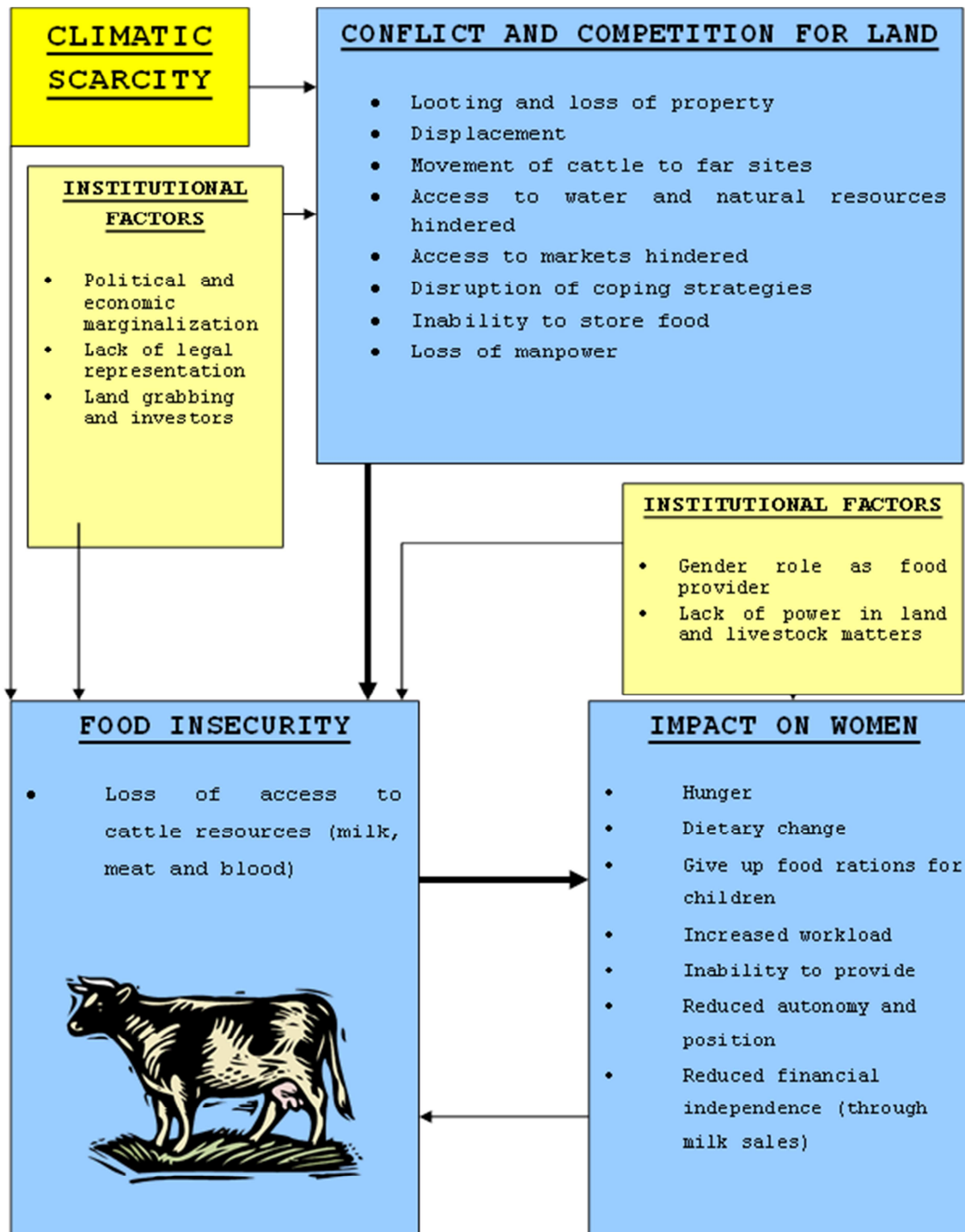
³¹⁸ Medical doctor, Nairobi, 10 February, 2014

cattle facilities start moving eating other food stuffs such as Amarantha, beans, and pork [in discreet]. That process may be looked at as prelude to cultural end, and vanishing away of the Maasai specific identity historical known. Unfortunately, in this identity change, the most vulnerable are once again women; the default household food managers and the children they care for.

While this work establishes that resource based conflicts in Kilosa result in food insecurity, the issue is complex and multifaceted (see figure 8 hereafter), taking in climate and institutional factors particularly the nature of the state-society relationships as reflected in policy actions such as eviction and land alienation. Moreover, as implied by the women interviewed, cultural factors interact with current pressures, in the sense that men may not feel any direct responsibility for food provision, despite women's constrained ability to do so. When the modern market economy becomes a necessary means of provision for the family, but the man actually holds the cash and is not using it for this purpose, this also puts a strain on women.

State actions through evictions and land alienations have accelerated food insecurity for Maasai pastoralists, with differential impacts on women whose customary traditions have not yet given them access to land despite bunch of pro-women legal provision, and yet they are labeled as food managers. Due to eviction women and children have had inadequate access to food, and disrupted the various coping strategies adopted by women to ensure that food is available. Likewise, the change of menu has put strain on women as more water and firewood is needed before they can prepare the food. It is undeniable that poor nutritional status in individuals of any age makes them more susceptible to illness and death, as has been described.

Figure 8: Complex picture of conflict, food security and gender impacts in Kilosa



Given the longstanding and recurring conflicts in Kilosa [chapter 4], and the increasing number of groups competing to control the natural resources in this case grazing land

needed for food production, competition is likely to catalyze conflict thus intensifying food shortage. The social, political, and economic inequities that affect people's food security can exacerbate grievances and build momentum toward conflict as different groups particularly Maasai pastoralists' struggles to protect and ensure food security. In this regard, the impacts are gender differentiated and those [pastoral women]³¹⁹ without enough economic and political muscle to wield power "the politically powerless" tend to suffer more from the outcome of socio-economic and political processes and structures, consequently causing accelerated destitution of women to a point that they can no longer maintain their livelihood systems (Walker P. , 1989, p. 6; Vlassenroot, Ntutuba, and Raeymaekers, 2006). Therefore, conflict may in this case be seen as a threat multiplier of food insecurity in Kilosa, which disproportionately impacts on the existing pastoral gender relations where women are food producers, managers and providers of the households.

This work raises another question about the conventional wisdom of food security interventions which focus on agricultural food production, but fail to consider the institutional context within which people's access to, and production of, food is defined and mediated. Given the global food crisis for instance, it is not enough to design and implement interventions and activities that work towards growth that are one sided. Typical case of one- sided interventions in Kilosa as already noted is that of "*Agriculture first Policy*" and other land related institutions which have focused on placing agriculture first at the expense of other livelihood systems like pastoralism which are also contributing to national food security by producing about 98 per cent of the national herd in Tanzania (URT, 2009).

Moreover, food security intervention policies are still failing women in Tanzania, by not incorporating their different roles, needs, concerns and interests. What these policy initiatives seem not to note or recognize is that, women are not a monolithic unit, but rather they are a heterogeneous group. They differ not only in their endowments and

³¹⁹ Researchers own words in the parenthesis

access to resources and opportunities key to their food related roles, but also in their traditional values, customs and traditions. In view of that, focus on their differences is crucial. While women in Tanzania have formal legal rights to property ownership like land, traditional customary law often restricts these rights in practice and pastoral women are not only unaware of their entitled rights, but also unable to demand them, thus impeding food security and nutrition for themselves and everyone in the households. Food security is dependent on women's equal access to land and natural resources, yet within the Maasai society, customs do not provide women in accessing land. When women, and particularly rural women, secure property rights and access to finance, they have a better chance of ensuring their own food security. Of particular interest is that, food production is declined, and as a result food consumption patterns is also falling and lack of food security is leading to displacement, disruption of traditional coping strategies, migration which again impacts on the default home food managers; the women.

Chapter 7

Conclusion on

Land Conflicts and the Livelihood of

Pastoral Women in Tanzania

7.1 Introduction

Conflicts around land are an increasing phenomenon, with growing number of visible cases evident in the Greater Horn of Africa, including Tanzania. These conflicts vary in type and characteristics, but have in common that they are often associated with the nature of land reforms, prolonged climate variability and change, and food insecurity (Benjaminsen et al., 2009; Urmilla, 2010). Analysis of conflicts around land in relation to land reforms and gender revolves around two arguments, firstly that individualized land rights are more effective and desirable in promoting tenure security, wider equal opportunities and efficient use of land (De Soto, 2000; Thu et al., 2007; Sikor and Muller, 2009; Deininger et al., 2010; Pedersen and Haule, 2013) or secondly and conversely, that communal land rights are the most effective way to ensure tenure security and promote gender equality in land and land resource access to and use (Obeng-Odoom, 2012).

As far as issues of climate change, land conflicts and gender are concerned, four theoretical paradigms have been identified. The first claims a direct causal relationship between climate change and conflicts (Diamond 2005, UNEP 2007), while the second claims a more indirect causal link (Meier et al (2007, Barnett and Adger, 2007). The third paradigm argues that causal explanations of the relationship between climate change and conflicts are political (Morissey, 2009, Meier et al 2007) and lastly, the fourth paradigm identifies the gendered impact of climate change related conflicts due to different gender roles and unequal distribution amongst them (Babugura, 2010, Asheber, 2012).

When the issue of food (in) security and conflict is considered, scholars have identified a complex and bi-directional association. On the one hand, conflicts instigate food insecurity by affecting local food systems, while on the other hand; food crises intensify food competition and create conflicts (Messer and Cohen, 2006). Once again, in such circumstances, women as food managers (as opposed to men's roles) are highly affected

by food insecurity induced conflict (Rosegrant, Paisner, Meijer, and Witcover, 2001; Misselhorn, 2005; Mkutu, 2006; 2008; Simmons, 2013).

As was described in the general introduction of this dissertation, the work set out to explore the linkages between conflicts around land and pastoral Maasai's women's livelihoods in Tanzania. Issues of pastoralism and land use conflicts in Tanzania are well documented in literature (Benjaminsen et al., 2009; Maganga et al., 2007; Shao, 2008, Urmilla, 2011 Kimboya, 2012; King, 2013). However, literature that offers a gendered analysis of land conflicts in the context of land reforms, prolonged climate variability and change, and food insecurity is limited and patchy. Of particular concern is data of these conflicts as linked to the livelihood of pastoral Maasai women, the primary and secondary users of land in pastoral communities (Flintan, 2008; 2010). To explore the issue, I combined PEA and SLA to analyse land conflicts and the livelihood of pastoral Maasai women in Kilosa. Likewise, qualitative methodological approach and tools were utilized and the collected data was analyzed qualitatively.

The study identified that conflicts around land in Kilosa are partly triggered by the pluralistic and contradictory nature of the land laws, which have accelerated inequalities in access to and control of land to pastoral Maasai. At the same time climate change and food insecurity complicates the picture and conflict mitigation strategies have also been seen to exacerbate the conflicts further.

Climate change is taking place in Kilosa, but changing climatic conditions are not directly linked to the longstanding and recurring conflicts around land in the area, rather, climate change is a threat multiplier to existing conflicts around land, environmental induced migrations, border disputes, and situations of fragility. Thus, the work challenges the theoretical argument for a direct link between climate change and conflicts. As far as the food insecurity-conflict nexus is concerned; the work supports observations in other settings, that the relationship is complex and multifaceted [figure x]. While recurring conflicts around land in Kilosa result in food insecurity, climate and institutional factors are also involved, particularly the nature of the state-society relationship as reflected in policy actions like Operation Kilosa, land alienation and

grabbing, as well as Kilimo Kwanza policy initiatives. On the other hand, food insecurity also triggers land conflicts. Findings also identify that vulnerabilities to conflicts around land are gender differentiated. Pastoral Maasai women were found to experience climate change, food insecurity, and land reforms differently from men. In view of the above, understanding conflicts around land in relation to land reforms, climate change, food insecurity, and gender in Kilosa is a complex issue that cannot be analyzed from one factor or perspective alone. Analysis of these conflicts requires a holistic approach as indicated in chapter 1. This study is an original contribution to the micro- level analysis of conflicts around land in relation to land reforms, climate change, food (in) security and livelihood of pastoral Maasai women in Tanzania. A concise abstract of the findings of each core issue in this study is presented in the subsequent sections.

7.2 Land Reforms, Conflicts and Pastoral Maasai Women

Given the lack of research on the gendered dimension of the impact of land reforms on pastoral women, and the relationship between land use conflicts and land related laws, the first research question for this study focused on land reforms in Tanzania, and the manner in which they have affected the livelihood position of the pastoralist women in Kilosa district. As described in detail [in chapters 1 and 3], the series of land reforms in Tanzania from German colonial claims on all communal land as “crown land”, to subsequent British colonial laws, and then more recent reforms have largely perpetuated individual land ownership as opposed to communal ownership, a situation, which slowly affected the customary land based rights, which women solely depended on.

Although at Tanganyika’s independence in 1961, and throughout the socialist era, land was again declared to be ‘public property’ vested under the custodian of the President of the United Republic on behalf of the citizens (Rwegasira, 2012), the laws and policies such as the Arusha declaration (1967), the Ujamaa Village Act (1975), and Land Regularization Act (1982) aspects of equality and collective production and nationalization introduced by these reforms were gender blind, unable to assist women and their differential positions in land across different societies (Spichiger, Broegaard,

Pedersen, and Ravnborg, 2013). They rather contributed to the diminishing of customary land tenure in favour of the granted right of occupancy Rwegasira (2012), affecting women whose secondary rights had already been eroded under the colonial administration (Rwebangira, 1999).

Land reforms in the 1990s which aimed at achieving gender equality, allowing for the operation of land markets, and ending land use conflicts including the National Land Policy (1995), enactment of Investment Act number 26 (1997) and the Land Acts [Land Act Cap 113 and the Village Land Act Cap 114 Revised editions of 2002], were successful in part, but again, have failed to reach a category of women who largely continue to live under different norms and customs which do not allow them to benefit. Statutory laws and customary rule among the pastoral Maasai contradict when it comes to women's land rights [chapter 3]. The customary rule of the pastoral Maasai overtly denies the right of women to property ownership (including land) and inheritance, because they themselves are properties of men. Thus pastoral women continue to fall into a legal black hole due to customs and traditions that restrict their access, contradicting the presumption that market oriented reforms are the most important channels for promoting and ensuring land acquisition for women.

Thus for most pastoral Maasai women, the communal land tenure system is their only route to benefit from land, and this, through secondary rights of access through relationships with their husbands, fathers and sons. However, reforms had the effect of opening up the communal land of the pastoral Maasai to multitude of forces, which for the most part actually diminished the secondary right of access women enjoyed under the communal system. With land privatization the emphasis on land markets, individual land holding, and investment interests has created two main problems, with grave impacts on pastoral women in particular.

Land reforms have opened up the traditionally held lands of Maasai to state acquisitions (appropriation) and alienations. Ironically, they have also created tenure contradictions; whereby the same laws that allow local communities [pastoralists in this

case] to hold land under the customary system are also used to push them away for investors. A typical case is that of Mkata ranch, which involves the state, investors and pastoralists of Ngaiti-sub village in Kilosa district [chapter 3]. Here tenure contradiction is at its worst, licensing the exclusion of pastoralists, especially pastoral women.

With privatization, women are losing some traditional secondary rights and indirect benefits traditionally enjoyed under the communal system. This is compounded by lack of negotiating power in the decision-making bodies [both within the local government level and community], and within their families [as they own nothing for themselves]. On a similar note, large-scale commercial farming is increasingly subjecting women to insecure and uncertain future, arguments also shared by Flintan (2011) and Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008).

Worsening the situation is the weakening of customary institutions [clans, families and marriage] by privatization, which initially guaranteed women's access. Moreover, land enclosures by investors have also increased daily domestic workloads on women related to fetching water in dry season. This result depicts one of the dangers of land reforms on women in eroding customary rights and overburdening them, as concurred by Joekes and Pointing (1991). This supports the skeptical position that the communitarian schools have against the individualization of land rights in offering wider land access opportunities for women (Deere and Leon, 2003).

A shift in livelihood strategy is an important aspect of large scale commercial farming, land privatization and land grabbing as male pastoralists either move to a sedentary life or join the rural-urban migration trend in the search for an alternative economic niche. The amalgamations of these changes have particularly affected pastoral women, by creating land insecurity, and creating a class system among the pastoral communities. Existing expectations of gender roles and systems work together with these pressures to place intolerable workloads on women as they attempt to meet their responsibilities and needs as is also observed by Fratkin and Roth (2006).

The emergence of classes among pastoralists is an interesting dynamic in Kilosa. Increasingly, economic differentiation is evident among the pastoralists, as the rich and

powerful categories of the Maasai are increasingly grabbing communal land for individual use. In this situation of haves and the have-nots, certain women already disadvantaged by their gender are then further disadvantaged in terms of their class.

Despite the finding that, generally, women are victims of these changes, a few cases were evident of women able to break the edge of customs and traditions blocking their capacity to benefit from the reformed land tenure system. Simply put, some women are increasingly taking bold stance towards land access, by defying both statutory and customary practices that deny their access to land. This includes creation of new routes of land access, and in some cases new rights. However, these cases are few and for the most part, do not represent the situation for the majority of pastoral women in Kilosa [chapter 3].

Thus, land reforms in Tanzania have generally not been in favour of pastoralism, or pastoral women in particular [chapter 3]. Pastoral women are disadvantaged as pastoralists and also as women. As women they endure, firstly, persisting discriminatory social norms and practices that restrict their ability to benefit from statutory rights. Secondly, existing overlapping, contradictions and discriminations in the existing statutory land laws, predominantly around marriage, inheritance and control over land also works not in favour of these women. Thirdly, women lack the ability to seek redress or exercise agency. As noted, very few women are able take a bold stance against existing discriminatory practices to demand that their rights be enforced within their customary and formal institutions. Few are like Mama Anna Oloishuro, and few can seek redress or even demand enforcement of their rights within their customary institutions and statutory bodies (village authorities). Fourthly, a complex interaction of markets, social norms, and land laws that mediates women's rights of access and use also constrains women from benefiting in these reforms. I argue that, reforming statutory land institutions without first reforming the customary land holding first is a fault in reforms and a double blow to pastoral women.

Lastly, regardless of the good intentions of land reforms to mitigate land conflicts, fifteen years later, conflicts continue and are even more frequent and intense for a

variety of reasons. Contradictory laws have led to conflict between the state, or investors and the people or communities the state is supposed to protect [as noted in chapter 3 and 4]. Women, as is noted, have often been rendered particularly insecure as a result.

7.3 Land Conflicts in Kilosa and Pastoral Women

The second research question aimed at exploring land use conflicts in Kilosa and how they impact on women and existing gender relations among the pastoral Maasai. As noted, conflicts around land in Kilosa are long standing and recurrent, frequently associated with access to and use of land and water for livestock and farming, as well as investment. These conflicts take three dominant patterns: pastoralist-farmer conflicts; pastoralists and Mikumi National Park; and pastoralist-investor conflicts. Further, the attempt by the state to mitigate conflicts, namely through Operation Kilosa 'OKI' is also considered to exacerbate existing conflict patterns through the violence and disruption inflicted upon pastoral Maasai.

While women do not participate directly as combatants, these conflicts affected women and their children differently from men by virtue of their position as default home managers and caretakers. Conflict induced displacements disrupted their access to resources like water, firewood and herbal medicines [for domestic use and income generation]. Testimonials by women who had experienced displacement revealed the enormous difficulties of losing houses, food stores and cooking equipment. Further, since women and their children are usually left behind and often unarmed unlike male combatants, they were vulnerable to insecurity, rapes, theft, loss of income, hunger and increased workload as they attempted to continue to fulfill their roles as home managers and caregivers. The sudden execution of Operation Kilosa in 2009 that led to displacement, abuse, and loss and/or restricted access to land had similar effects on women as the conflicts themselves.

These findings corroborate the argument that conflicts have gender-differentiated impacts; women by virtue of their certain specific gender roles experience them differently (Byrne, 1996). In the same way, they also corroborate the observations by

Tadesse (2010) in Ethiopia that, due to their status, women are caught in a vicious paradox as firstly, they are victims of conflicts and secondly, they are often powerless to defend or protect themselves.

In Kilosa, the picture is complex, with the strain and hardship associated with gender differentiated roles and gender relations on the one hand reinforced by conflicts. On the other hand, conflict or other hardships may be trigger for change and challenge to existing gender roles and relations, an argument that corroborates the work of Mkutu (2008) in Karamoja, Uganda, where conflict and other social changes led women to seek alternative livelihoods from which they and their children were able to benefit. However, several other social factors have assisted this transformation process among the pastoral Maasai communities, including exposure to the outside world, and the influence of the Christian church in Kilosa. As noted however, few women as yet have been partakers of this social change.

The work concludes by arguing that, conflicts around land in Kilosa are partly triggered by the pluralistic and contradictory nature of the land laws, which have accelerated inequalities in access to and control of land to pastoral Maasai. Pastoral women as default home managers and caregivers experience a double blow, confirming the assertion that conflict impacts are gender differentiated, and women are differently affected by these conflicts.

7.4 The Role of Climate Change

Given the longstanding and recurring land conflicts in Kilosa, and existing alleged claims between conflicts and climate change, the third research question explored whether climate change is taking place in Kilosa, and its link to the existing land use conflicts, taking a gendered approach to the impacts of this.

Available data and interviews suggested that climate has changed over recent decades resulting in prolonged droughts, unpredictable rainfall, floods, and new outbreaks of animal and human disease. The findings corroborate existing scholarly work in Kilosa (Paavola, 2008; Mushi, 2013) and government reports (NAPA, 2007; 2010; 2012). The

government has not been able to mitigate these impacts effectively, especially with reference to recurrent floods in Kilosa, thus policy failures in management of drainage and water systems are an important factor in the problem, which is often blamed solely on climate change, and the latter may be used to justify certain political agendas.

Drought induced migration, (which may be forceful, arranged between communities, or the result of bribery of officials), is linked to land use conflicts. However, despite drought being one of the most serious challenges for pastoralists, the relationship with conflict is not actually consistent. Conflicts have also been evident in the absence of prolonged drought [chapter 5 and appendix 1], suggesting that other factors are involved in conflict. As hinted, policies and decisions are part of the problem. Pastoralists are migrating from different parts of Tanzania to Kilosa, while at the same time the government is moving them elsewhere [Chapters 3, 4 and 5] without consideration of their settlement strategies. Despite attempts by the government to solve or mitigate conflicts, climate induced impacts [degradation, deforestation] are creating other conflicts in Kilosa and elsewhere. Thus some of the laws and decisions that have been created by government to solve conflicts are exacerbating conflicts in Kilosa. The work concludes this topic by challenging the theoretical arguments that there is a direct link between climate change and conflicts arguing that while climate change is taking place in Kilosa, this is not directly linked to the long standing and recurring conflicts around land in the area, rather, climate change is a threat multiplier to existing conflicts around land, environmental induced migrations, and border disputes.

Findings also show that vulnerabilities to unprecedented impacts of climate change events are gender differentiated. Pastoral Maasai women were found to experience climate change induced impacts differently, mostly due to socially constructed roles and responsibilities they play within their societies, the secondary position they have in resource access, and the skewed gendered power relations which tend to make them more destitute relative to men. In a specific way, as a threat multiplier, climate change is exacerbating the existing unequal resource access and gendered power relations in resource access experienced by pastoral women, consequently limit their ability to cope

with and adapt to a changing climate. In some cases the disproportionately negative impacts endured by pastoral women are not always straightforward due to multiple roles and responsibilities they play (food managers, care givers, guardians and economic actors). Some women have been able to break through customs and migrate to the cities in search for alternative economic niche to manage their roles. Observations by Eriksen et al (2005), Dankelman et al. (2008) and Omolo (2010) observations corroborate these findings. Adaptation and policies and related development interventions in Kilosa are also hindering pastoral mobility, while lack of other possible livelihood options is pushing more and more pastoralists out of their pastoral system. Ultimately, it is a woman who suffers because the subsistence of pastoral women is land.

7.5 Food Security, Conflict and Pastoral Women

The fourth research question [see chapter 6] intended to explore the way in which food insecurity, triggered or exacerbated by conflict, impacts pastoralist women's livelihood. The work considered whether there is food insecurity amongst the pastoral Maasai, and if so, what is its relationship with conflicts around land. Lastly the meaning and impact for pastoral women was explored.

As has been described [chapter 6], pastoralists have been increasingly forced to change their dietary practices and food preferences from a cattle products oriented diet [milk, meat and blood] to a higher intake of cereals and vegetables. Although the new foods have a recognized nutritional value, according to the Maasai, food means milk, meat, and blood, but not cereals. Thus a kind of food insecurity exists for the Kilosa Maasai because their local food preferences and dietary practices are no longer available. This work argues that cultural food preferences are important because they are intertwined with beliefs about health, livelihoods and sustainable food supply. When change is involuntarily enforced upon a community, it strains those individuals who are by default in charge of food, in this case pastoral women [food managers]. This observation also corroborates the theoretical argument that food insecurity is subjective to preferences as supported by FAO (2009) and Fenton et al (2012). It then becomes important to ask how the government is addressing food insecurity in the country. The

conventional wisdom of food security interventions through agricultural expansionism at the expense of pastoralism [chapter 3 and 6] exacerbates food insecurity specifically among the pastoral Maasai. The government does not see pastoralism as a valuable livelihood system, yet pastoralism contributes to the GDP (Livestock policy, 2007; Kipuri and Sorensen, 2009). The inevitable result is food insecurity, which impacts particularly on women and children. Ultimately, women are impacted heavily by virtue of their specific and default gender roles [food managers and caregivers], insecure rights to property like land, as well as lack of power in land and livestock matters [chapter 6 figure x].

7.6 Theoretical Implications

This research has depicted a number of findings that have implications for the existing theoretical debates as summarized and discussed in chapter 1 of this thesis. First, the research challenges the theoretical perspective that individualized land rights are more effective and desirable in promoting tenure security, wider equal opportunities and efficient use of land, and suggests rather, that communal land rights are the most effective way to ensure tenure security and promote gender equality in land and land resource access to and use. The research highlights that, despite Tanzania having seemingly good laws that are pro-gender equality as it related to land access and use, these fail to benefit this particular sub-group of women, and rather, erode the only access to land that they enjoy.

Similarly, this study contrasts the theoretical argument, which claims a direct causal relationship between climate change and conflicts. It reveals that there is no direct link between change in climate and conflicts around land in Kilosa implying that this claim is inappropriate and misleading, and detracts from other important factors. The concept of climate change as a threat multiplier to conflicts is preferred in this work. A significant factor in the problem is seen to be policy and resource governance; concurring with the theoretical argument that climate change is a political issue. This research equally confirms the theoretical argument that, unlike men, women often bear

the brunt of burden of climate change related conflicts due to different gender roles and unequal distribution amongst them.

While this study confirms the theoretical positions that conflicts instigate food insecurity by affecting local food systems, while on the other hand, food crises intensify food competition and create conflicts, it is established in this research that land conflicts and food insecurity in Kilosa, are complex and multifaceted issues, involving issues of climate and institutions, particularly the nature of the state-society relationships as reflected in policy actions such as eviction and land alienation. Ultimately, these circumstances impact heavily on women by virtue of their specific and default gender roles [food managers and caregivers], insecure rights to property like land, as well as lack of power in land and livestock matters [chapter 6 figure x]. This confirms the theoretical arguments that, unlike men, women as food managers are highly affected by food insecurity induced conflict.

7.7 Policy Implications

In the context of the increasing pressures on land and its related resources in Tanzania, land grabbing and the land rush due to global food insecurity and changing climate, the entire issue of pastoralism, conflict, gender and policy needs to be reconsidered in full. The pastoral livelihood has always been exposed to the vagaries of climate and harsh environmental conditions. However, in recent years, pastoralists have faced a myriad of new problems, including competition for water and pasture in the context of decreased access to land; more explicit political and economical marginalization; lack of appropriate responses to the deteriorating security situation; and the proliferation of weapons across the region. The current policies are not attempting to handle pastoralism but appear to consider it a worthless livelihood to be discouraged; neither are they sympathetic to the plight of the women and their children. If Tanzania is to meet the goal 3 of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015, which aim at promoting gender equality and empowerment of women (United Nations , 2014), it will have to also think of what is happening among the pastoralist women and their children.

As far as land reform is concerned, a very well developed gender sensitive land institutional framework exists, and women's rights to land are statutorily protected. However, this work questions this sensitivity in the sense that, to date, customary practices still block women in pastoral areas to enjoy these rights. What reforms overlook is that women in pastoral areas are the property of men, and a property cannot own property [chapter 3]. In this regard, there is a need to rethink pastoral women's rights in the context of land and land reforms.

Likewise, whereas land reforms have opened up room for market forces in land, large scale farming, policy frameworks like Kilimo Kwanza does not consider pastoralists, but rather promote land grabbing in pastoral areas. There is a need to re-think the issue of pastoralism because even Kilimo Kwanza policy is insensitive to this group and accelerates grabbing of even the marginal lands, on which pastoralists subsist. Modernization policies in agriculture should not only focus on crop farming, but also take into account modernizing pastoral farming. For instance, just as Kilimo Kwanza policy emphasises a green revolution through agriculture, similar attention should be given to assisting pastoralism to continue as a sustainable livelihood, with adequate production of livestock and livestock products [milk, meat, ghee etc.] to sustain women's livelihood as home managers and to reduce unregulated pastoralist movements, which fuels pastoral- farmer land conflicts.

As far as climate change is concerned, the government is attempting to sedentarize pastoralists, failing to recognize the value of pastoralism as a livelihood and that some areas are only suitable for pastoralism. Thus pastoralism is receiving insufficient analytical debate at the policy level. The need for such a debate is made more pressing by the recent mineral finds in pastoral areas, which have led to conflict, evictions and deaths of pastoralists as in Ngorongoro and Kilombero (Laine et al., 2013). When evictions take place this is poorly planned and leads to land conflict in other areas, as was the case in the Rufiji pastoral-farmers conflicts. As noted, during Operation Kilosa (OKI), the eviction of Maasai pastoralists from Kilosa to Lindi and Rufiji regions leading to conflict with Sukuma pastoralists was a policy failure.

Further, with regard to food insecurity, the work has have demonstrated that, pastoralists in Kilosa are food insecure, and a complex link exists between food insecurity and land use conflicts, in which climate and institutional factors play a role. This challenges the conventional wisdom of food security interventions, which fail to consider pastoralism. The introduction of forage crops production may assist to boost food production among the pastoralists at the same time reducing herd mobility. The case of Vikuge state farm, located in Vikuge village, Soga ward in the Kibaha district, northwest of Dares Salaam, Tanzania for example (Kavana et al., 2005), which focuses on production of grasses and legumes; could be replicated to support pastoralists in Kilosa and elsewhere.

7.8 Suggestions for Further Research Projects

While this ethnographic inspired study aimed at exploring conflicts around land and how they impact on the livelihood position of the pastoral women in Kilosa, it must be acknowledged that the results presented cannot cover all the conflict dynamics around land in Kilosa. There remain many unexplored aspects of the complex relationship between land conflicts, pastoralism and gender.

With regards to longstanding and recurring conflicts around land in Kilosa, there is a need to look further into the ways to mitigate these conflicts without exacerbating livelihood insecurity further, such as has happened on numerous occasions, when pastoralists are evicted as a means of resolving land conflict (Mkomazi, Ihefu, Kilombero to name a few cases). The matter of compensation is and important concern for past, present and future cases. One of the most important challenges for future research is the climate change phenomenon. As noted [chapter 5], scholars and policy makers have predicted an increase in drought and flooding in various parts of Tanzania, including Kilosa. The need for further research and action to mitigate the impact on pastoralists, and pastoral women in particular cannot be underestimated. There is a need for inclusion of Maasai pastoralists in decisions affecting their future. Furthermore, pastoralists are food insecure, and a complex set of factors contributes to this state, such as unpredictable rainfall, institutional factors, and conflicts around land [figure 8].

Women, by virtue of their default gender roles and responsibilities and users of climate sensitive resources in skewed power relations bear the brunt of the impacts.

A question that remains and needs to be looked into further is how these women are going to survive in a changing climate with dwindling resources under continuous population growth and policies that favour agricultural expansionism at the expense of pastoralism. Given the food insecurity situation among the pastoral Maasai, it may be worse for women; who are the social-economic engines of the pastoral livelihoods (Eneyew and Mengistu, 2013). If the women cannot have their cultural diet during pregnancy or after delivery, their life expectancy and ability to perform their gender specific roles are likely to be affected. Thus, future research may assess vulnerability of the pastoral women by conducting a comprehensive understanding of complex interactions between climate, demographic factors, livestock and human disease and political and economic systems.

References

- Abdalla, A. (2006). Environmental degradation and conflict in Darfur: Experiences and Development Options. *Environmental Degradation as a cause of conflict in Darfur* (pp. 87-94). Khartoum: Finbarr O'Reilly/Reuters.
- ActionAid. (2009). Implications of Biofuels production on food security in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: ActionAid Tanzania.
- ActionAid. (2011). Say No to Soil Carbon Markets! Six Reasons Why Soil Carbon Markets Won't Work for Smallholders,. ActionAid.
- Adesoji, A. (2010). The Boko Haram uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria. *Africa Spectrum* , 45 (2), 95-108.
- Adger, N., and Kelly, M. (1999). Social Vulnerability to Climate Change and theArchitecture of Entitlements. *Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for Global Change* , 4, 253 – 266.
- Agarwal, B. (1994). *A field of one's own: ender and Land Rights in South Asia*. New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge .
- Agarwal, B. (2003). Gender and Land rights Revisited: Exploring new prospects via the State, Family and Market. *Journal of Agrarian Change* , 3 (1-2), 184-224.
- Agrawal, A. (2008). *The Role of Local Institutions in Adaptation to Climate change*. Papers of the Social Dimensions of Climate Change Workshop .March 5-6 2008 . Washington, D.C: The World Bank.
- Agrawala, S., Moehder, A., Hemp, A., Van Aalst, M., Hitz, S., Smith, J., et al. (2003). *Development and Climate Change in Tanzania: Focus on Mount Kilimanjaro*. Paris: OECD.
- Agwu, J., and Okhimamhe, A. (2009). *Gender and Climate Change in Nigeria. A Study of Four Communities in North-Central and South-Eastern Nigeria*. Lagos: Heinrich Böll Stiftung .
- Akresh, R., Luchetti, L., and Thirumuthy, H. (2010). *Wars and Child Health: Evidence from the Eritrean - Ethiopian Conflict*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

- Amirthalingam, K., and Lakshman, R. W. (2012). Impact of Displacement on Women and Female-headed Households: A Mixed Method Analysis with a Microeconomic Touch. *Journal of Refugee Studies* , 26 (1).
- Aregu, L., and Belete, Y. (2007). Coping with Drought in the Borana Rangelands. In A. Ridgwell, G. Mamo, and F. Flintan, *Gender and Pastoralism Vol 1: Rangeland and Resource Management in Ethiopia* (pp. 59-68). Addis Ababa: SOS Sahel Ethiopia.
- Århem, K. (1989). Maasai food symbolism: the cultural connotations of milk, meat, and blood in the pastoral maasai diet. *Anthropos* , 84, 1-23.
- Asheber, S. A. (2010). Mitigating drought: Policy impact evaluation: A case of Tigray region, Ethiopia. Enschede: University of Twente, Faculty of Geo-Information and Earth Observation. ITC.
- Atkins, P. (1991). Book Review of *Famine Early Warning Systems: victims and destitution*, by P. Walker. *International Journal of Environmental Studies* , 37, 304-5.
- Babugura, A. (2010). *Gender and Climate Change: South Africa Case Study*. Cape Town: Heinrich Böll Stiftung Southern Africa.
- Baha, B., Attito, T., Axwesso, S., Luhwago, R., and Charles, B. (2008). The price of Malfunctioning Land Management System in Tanzania: A fact finding report on the dispute between pastoralists and Peasants in Kilosa District. Dar es Salaam: JOLIT joint advocacy framework.
- Banda, F., and Chinkin, C. (2004). *Gender, Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*. London, UK: Minority Rights Group International .
- Barnett, J. (2001, October). Security and Climate Change. Canterbury, New Zealand. Retrieved 03 06, 2013 from <http://tyndall.ac.uk/sites/default/files/wp7.pdf>
- Barnett, J., and Adger, N. (2007). Climate Change, Human Security, and Violent Conflict. *Political Geography* , 26 (6), 639–655.
- Bashwiraa, M.-R., Cuvelier, J., Hilhorst, D., and van der Haar, G. (2013). Not only a man's world: Women's involvement in artisanal mining in eastern DRC. *Resources Policy* .

- Bati, B. M. (2013). Climate change, cattle herd vulnerability and food insecurity: Adaptation through livestock diversification in the Borana pastoral system of Ethiopia. Stuttgart-Hohenheim: University of Hohenheim.
- Bayene, A., Mung'ong'o, C., Atteridge, A., and Larsen, R. (2013). Biofuels Production and its impacts on Local Livelihoods in Tanzania: A Mapping of stakeholder Concerns and some Implication for Governance. Stockholm: Stockholm Research Institute.
- Beidelman, T. (1960). The Baraguyu. Tanganyika Notes and Records.
- Beidelman, T. (2012). The culture of Colonialism: The Cultural Subjection of Ukaguru. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Benjaminsen, T. A., Maganga, F. P., and Abdallah, J. M. (2009). The Kilosa Killings: Political Ecology of a Farmer–Herder Conflict in Tanzania. *Development and Change*, 40 (3), 423–445.
- Benjaminsen, T., and Boubacar, B. (2009). Farmer-herder conflicts, pastoral marginalization and corruption: a case study of inland Niger Delta of Mali. *The Geographical Journal*, 175 (1), 71-81.
- Benjaminsen, T., and Boubacar, B. (2009). Farmer-herder conflicts, pastoral marginalization and corruption: a case study of inland Niger Delta of Mali. *The Geographical Journal*, 175 (1), 71-81.
- Benjaminsen, T., Alinon, K., Buhaug, H., and Buseth, J. (2012). Does climate change drive land-use conflicts in the Sahel? *Journal of Peace Research*, 49 (1), 97–111.
- Bernabucci, U., Lacetera, N., Baumgard, L. H., Rhoads, R. P., Ronchi, B., and Nardone, A. (2010). Metabolic and hormonal adaptations to heat stress in domesticated ruminants. *Animal*, 4, 1167–1183.
- Birks, L. K., Roggeveen, Y., and Hatfield, J. M. (2013). Motherhood, Infertility, and HIV: The Maasai Context of Northern Tanzania. In P. (. Liamputtong, Women, Motherhood and Living with HIV/AIDS : A Cross-Cultural Perspective (pp. 77-92). New York. London: Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg.
- Biskup, J. L., and Boellstorff, D. L. (1995). The effects of a long-term drought on the economic roles of Hacendado and Ejidatario women in a Mexican Ejido. Lincoln: Nebraska Anthropologist.

- Blaikie, P. (2001). Social Nature and Environmental Policy in the South: Views from Verandah and Veld. In B. Braun, and N. Castree, Social Nature Theory, Practice and Politics. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Blaikie, P., and Brookfield, H. (1994). Land degradation and society (1st ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Blaikie, P., Cannon, T., Davis, I., and Wisner, B. (1997). At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability, and Disasters. London: Routledge.
- Blast, L. (2010). Seven Theories of Climate Change. Chicago, Illinois, United States of America: The Heartland Institute.
- Bohle, H., Downing, T., and Watts, M. (1994). Climate Change and Social Vulnerability. *Global Environmental Change*, 4 (1), 37 – 48.
- Boko, M., Niang, I., Nyong, A., Vogel, C., Githeko, A., Medany, M., et al. (2007). Africa Climate Change : Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. (M. L. Parry, O. F. Canziani, J. P. Palutikof, P. van der Linden, and C. E. Hanson, Eds.) Cambridge UK : Cambridge University Press.
- Bollig, M. (1990). Ethnic Conflicts in North-West Kenya: Pokot-Turkana Raiding 1969–1984. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 115, 73-90.
- Bond, J. (2014). A holistic approach to natural resource conflict: The case of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Rural Studies*, 34, 117-127.
- Bora, S., Ceccacci, I., Delgado, C., and Townsend, R. (2010). Food Security and Conflict. World Bank, Agriculture and Rural Development Department . Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Brancati, D. (2007). Political Aftershocks: The Impact of Earthquakes on Intrastate Conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51 (5), 715–743.
- Brinkman, H.-J., and Hendrix, C. S. (2011). Food Insecurity and Violent Conflict: Causes, Consequences, and Addressing the Challenges. Rome: World Food Programme.
- Brockington, D. (2002). Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve Tanzania. Oxford: International African Institute.

- Brockington, D. (2001). Women's income and the livelihood strategies of dispossessed pastoralists near the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania. *Human Ecology*, 29 (3), 307–38.
- Brown, O., and Crawford, A. (2009). *Rising Temperatures, Rising Tensions: Climate change and the risk of violent conflict in the Middle East*. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3B 0Y4: International Institute for Sustainable Development.
- Brown, O., Hammill, A., and McLeman, R. (2007). Climate Change as the 'New' Security Threat: Implications for Africa. *International Affairs*, 83 (6), 1141–1154.
- Buchanan-Smith, M., and Lind, J. (2005). *Armed Violence and poverty in Northern Kenya: A case study of Armed Violence and Poverty initiative*. University of Bradford, Department of Peace Studies. Bradford: Centre for International Cooperation and Security.
- Buckingham-Hatfield, S. (2000). *Gender and Environment*. London: Routledge.
- Bukuluki, P., Mugumya, F., Neema, S., Kafuko, A., and Ochen, E. (2008). *Gender, Food Security and AIDS in Internally Displaced People's Camps in Uganda. Implications for HIV Responsive Policy and Programming*. Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.
- Burke, M. B. (2009). Warming increases the risk of civil war in Africa. *PNAS*, 106 (49).
- Burke, M. B., Miguel, E., Shanker, S., Dyema, J. A., and Lobell, D. B. (2009). Warming increases the risk of civil war in Africa. In W. R. Kates (Ed.), 106, pp. 20670–20674.
- Burke, M., Miguel, E., Satyanath, S., Dykema, J., and Lobell, D. (2009). Warming increases the risk of civil war in Africa. *Proceedings of National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 106 (49), 20670–20674.
- Burke, M., Miguel, E., Shanker, S., and Lobel, D. (2009). Warming Increases the Risk of Civil War in Africa. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, 106 (49).
- Buscher, D. (2009). *Displaced Women and Girls at Risk: Risk Factors, Protection Solutions and Resource Tools*. GSDRC.
- Butler, J. (1990) *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge
- Butler, C., and Gates, S. (2012). African Range Wars: Climate, Conflict, and Property Rights. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49 (1), 23–34.

- Byrne, B. (1996). Towards a Gendered Understanding of Conflict. *IDS Bulletin* , 27 (3), 31-40.
- Carpenter, C. R. (2006). *Innocent women and children: Gender, norms and the protection of civilians*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.
- Carpenter, C. R. (2005). 'Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups: GenderStrategic Frames, and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue'. *International Studies Quarterly* , 49 (2), 295-394.
- Chachage, C. (2011). *Land acquisition and accumulation in Tanzania: The case of Morogoro, Iringa and and Pwani Regions*. PELUM Tanzania. International Land Coalition.
- Chachage, C., and Baha, B. (2010). *Accumulation by Land Dispossession and Labour Devaluation in Tanzania. The case of biofuel and forestry investments in Kilwa and Kilolo*. Dar es Salaam: Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (LARRRI/HAKIARDHI) and Oxfam.
- Che- Mponda, A. H. (1984). Aspects of Nyerere's Political Philosophy: A study in the Dynamics of African Political Thought. *Africa Study Monograph* , 63-74.
- Cochrane, L., and Costolanski, P. (2013). Climate change Vulnerability and Adaptability in an urban Context. A case study of Addis Ababa Ethiopia. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* , 5 (6), 192-204.
- Collier, P., Elliot, L., Hegre, H., Hoeffler, A., Reynal-Querol, M., and Sambanis, N. (2003). *Breaking the Conflict Trap.Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, DC and Oxford: World Bank and Oxford University Press.
- Collinson, S. et al. (2002). *Political Informed humanitarian programming: Using a Political Economy Approach*. HPN paper 41, December 2002, London: ODI.
- Collinson, S. (2003). *Power, Livelihoods, and Conflict: Case studies in Political Economy Analysis for Humanitarian Action*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Cornell, S. (2005). The Interaction of Narcotics and Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research* , 42, 751-760.
- Connell, R. (2000). *The Men and the Boys*. Cambridge: Polity Press; 2000.
- Connell, R., and , Messerschmidt, J.. (2005): *Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the Concept*. *Journal of Gender & Society*. Vol. 19 (pp.829-859). Sage Publications

- Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, California : Sage.
- Cutter, S. (1996). Vulnerability to Environmental Hazards. *Progress in Human Geography*, 20 (4), 529-539.
- Daley, E. (2005). Land and Social Change in Tanzanian Village 2: Kinyanambo in the 1990s. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 5 (4), 526-72.
- Dankelman, I. (2011). Climate Change is not gender - neutral: realities on the ground . Public Hearing on "women and climate change" on October 11, 2011. Netherlands: European Parliament .
- Dankelman, I. (2002). Climate change: learning from gender analysis and women's experiences of organising for sustainable development. *Gender and Development*, 10 (2), 21-29.
- Dankelman, I. (2010). *Gender and Climate change: An Introduction*. Washington DC. London: Earthscan.
- Dankelman, I., Alam, K., Ahmed, W. B., Gueye, Y. D., Fatema, N., and Mensah-Kutin, R. (2008). *Gender, climate change and human security: Lessons from Bangladesh, Ghana and Senegal*. WEDO.ABANTU.ENDA.
- De Waal, A. (1997). *Famine crimes : Politics and Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*. Oxford, UK: James Currey Press.
- De Waal, A. (2008). The art of medicine: On famine crimes and tragedies. *The Lancet*, 372 (9649), 1538-1539.
- Deere, C. D., and Doss, C. (2006). *Gender and the Distribution of Wealth in Developing Countries*. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER (World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University).
- Deininger, K., and Castagnini, R. (2006). Incidence and Impact of Land Conflicts in Uganda. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organisation*, 60 (3), 321-345.
- Denton, F. (2002). Climate Change Vulnerability, Impacts, and Adaptation: Why does gender Matter? *Gender and Development*, 10 (2), 10-20.
- Denzin, N. (2009). *The research act: a theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. New Jersey : Transaction Publishers.

- Department For International Development. (2004). Social Vulnerability, Sustainable Livelihoods and Disasters. Report to DFID Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance Department and Sustainable Livelihoods Support Office . London: Benfield Hazard Research Center.
- Derman, B., and Hellum, A. (2007). Land, Identity and violence in Zimbabwe . In B. Derman, R. Odgaard, and E. Sjaastad, Conflicts over land and water in Africa (pp. 161-186). Oxford. East Lansing. Pietermaritzburg.: James Currey. Michigan state University Press. University of Kwazulu- Natal Press.
- De Haan, L. J., & Zoomers, A. (2005). Exploring the Frontier of Livelihoods Research. *Development and Change*, 36(1), 27–47.
- De Haan, L. (2012). The Livelihood Approach: A critical Exploration. *Erkunde*, 66 (4), p. 345–357.
- Derman, B., R. Odgaard, and E. Sjaastad (2007.) Conflicts over Land and Water in Africa: Cameroon, Ghana, Burkina Faso, West Africa, Sudan, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Tanzania. Michigan State University Press, East Lansing
- De Soto, H. (2000). The mystery of capital: Why capitalism triumphs in the West and fails everywhere else. New York: Basic Books.
- Dessus, S. (2008). The short and longer term potential welfare impact of global commodity inflation in Tanzania. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Devereux, S. (2000). Famine in the Twentieth Century. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies (IDS).
- Devereux, S. (2006). From 'old famines' to New famines. In S. Devereux, The New Famines: Why famines persists in an era of Globalization? (pp. 1-26). New York: Routledge.
- Devereux, S. (2001). Sen's Entitlement Approach: Critiques and Counter-critiques. *Oxford Development Studies* , 29 (3).
- Devereux, S. (2007). The New Famines: Why Famines Persists in an era of Globalization. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Diamond, J. (2005). Malthus in Africa: Rwanda's Genocide. In J. Diamond, Collapse: How societies Choose to Fail or Succeed. London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Diamond, J. (2005). Collapse: how societies choose to fail or succeed. New York: Viking .

- Diaz, M. (2001). Gender and Forced Migrations. In M. Loughry, and A. Ager, *The Refugee experience: Psychological training Module* (Revised edn). Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre.
- Djoudi, H., and Brockhaus, M. (2011). Is adaptation to climate change gender neutral? Lessons from communities dependent on livestock and forests in northern Mali. *International Forestry Review* , 13 (2), 123-135.
- Dodson, B., Chiweza, A., and Riley, L. (2012). *Gender and Food Insecurity in Southern African Cities*. Kingston and Cape Town: Queen's University and AFSUN.
- Doty, B., Gradeja, E., Phillips, P., and Shrestha, A. (2011). *Vulnerability to Climate Change: An Assessment of East and Central Africa* (Vol. Student Working Paper no. 2). (J. Busby, K. White, and T. Smith, Eds.) Texas: Strauss Center. University of Texas.
- Dwyer, L., and Cagoco-Guiam, R. (2012). *Gender and Conflict in Mindanao*. The Asia Foundation.
- Eberle, I. (2011). *A Changing Climate: A study on the Challenge of climate change and pastoralist livelihood among the Waso Boran in Northern Kenya*. Roskilde University.
- El Jack, A. (2002). *Gender and Armed Conflict: an Overview Report*. Brighton, UK: BRIDGE. Institute of Development Studies.
- Elhadary, Y., and Samet, N. (2011). Pastoral Land Rights and Protracted Conflict in Eastern Sudan. *Journal of Pan african Studies* , 4 (8), 74-90.
- Ellis, F. (2000). *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Enarson, E. (2007). Identifying and Addressing social Vulnerabilities. In W. L. Waugh, and K. Tierney (Eds.), *Emergency Management; Principles and Practices for Local Government* (pp. 257-278). Washington DC: ICMA Press.
- Enarson, E., Fothergill, A., and Peek, L. (2006). Gender and Disaster: Foundations and Directions. In H. Rodriguez, F. Quarantelli, and R. Dynes (Eds.), *Handbook of Disaster Research* (pp. 130-146). New York: Springer.
- Eneyew, A., and Mengistu, S. (2013). Double Marginalized Livelihoods: Invisible Gender Inequality in Pastoral societies. *Societies* , 3, 104-116.

- Eriksen, S. and J. Lind 2005. The impacts of conflict on household vulnerability to climate stress: Evidence from Turkana and Kitui Districts in Kenya. Human Security and Climate Change, An International Workshop, Holmen Fjord Hotel, Asker, near Oslo, 21-23 June 2005. Available from: <wikiadapt.org/.../The_impacts_of_conflict_on_household_vulnerability_to_climate_stress.pdf>.
- Fadul, A. (2006). Natural Resources Management for Sustainable Peace in Darfur. Environmental degradation as a cause of conflict in Darfur (pp. 33-46). Khartoum: Finbarr O'reilly/ REUTERS.
- Fanthrope, R. (2001). Neither Citizen nor Subject? 'Lumpen' Agency and the Legacy of the Native Administration in Sierra Leone. *African Affairs* , 100, 363-386.
- FAO. (2006). Food Security. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization.
- FAO. (1996). Rome Declaration on World Food Security and World Food Summit Plan of Action, World Food Summit, 13-17 November 1996. Rome: FAO.
- Faris, S. (2007, April 1). The Real Roots of Darfur . *Atlantic Monthly* . 2 (40).
- FEMACT. (2009). FEMACT Loliondo Findings, 19th-21st August. FEMACT. Dar es Salaam : FEMACT.
- Feminist Activist Coalition. (2009). FEMACT Loliondo Findings, 19th-21st August. Feminist Activist Coalition (FEMACT). Dar es Salaam: FEMACT.
- Fenton, C., Hatfield, J., and McIntyre, L. (2012). A qualitative pilot study of food insecurity among Maasai women in Tanzania. *PanAfrican Medical Journal* , 12.
- Finnström, S. (2008). Living with Bad Surroundings: War, History, and Everyday Moments in Northern Uganda. Duke University Press.
- Fischer, G., Shah, M., and van Velthuisen, H. (2002). Climate change and agricultural vulnerability: Special report as contribution to the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg 2002. Austria: International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis.
- Flintan, F. (2011). The Political Economy of Land reform in Pastoral Areas: Lessons from Africa, Implications for Ethiopia. Future Agricultures, IDS University of Sussex; Feinstein International Center of Tufts University.

- Flintan, F. (2008). Women Empowerment in Pastoral societies . WISP; Global Environment Facility; UNDP; IUCN.
- Flores, M. (2004). Conflicts, Rural Development and Food Security in West Africa. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- Flores, M., Khwaja, Y., and White, P. (2005). Food Security in Protracted crises : building more effective policy frameworks. *Disasters* (s1), 25-51.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. (2006). Food Security. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization.
- Forster, P., Ramaswamy, V., Artaxo, P., Berntsen, T., Betts, R., Fahey, D. W., et al. (2007). Climate Change: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. (S. Solomon, D. Qin, M. Manning, Z. Chen, M. Marquis, K. B. Averyt, et al., Eds.) Cambridge University Press,.
- Forsyth, T., and Schomerus, M. (2013). Climate Change and Conflict: A Systematic Evidence Review. Houghton Street, London: Justice and Security Research Programme,.
- Fox, J. (2004). The Rise of Religious Nationalism and Conflict: Ethnic Conflict and Revolutionary Wars, 1945–2001. *Journal of Peace Research* , 41 (6), 715–731.
- Fratkin, E., (2001) East African Pastoralism in Transition: Maasai, Boran, and Rendille Cases. *African Studies Review*, 44 (3), 1-25
- Fratkin, E., and Mearns, R., [2003] Sustainability and Pastoral Livelihoods: Lessons from East African Maasai and Mongolia. *Journal of Human Organization*, 62 (2)
- Fratkin, E. (2014). Ethiopia's pastoralists Policies: development, Displacement, and Resettlement. *Nomadic Peoples* , 18, 94-114.
- Funder, M., Cold-Ravnkilde, S., and Ginsberg, i. (2012). Addressing Vclimate change and conflict in Development Cooperation "Experince from Natural Resource Management. danish Institute for International Studies .
- Geenen, S. (2012). A dangerous bet: The challenges of formalizing artisanal mining in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Resources Policy* , 37 , 322–330.
- Genda, L., and Kirway, J. (2009). Female rural-urban migration in Tanzania. Case study of Maasai women. *Mzumbe University Uongozi Journal* , 20 (2), 1-12.

- German Advisory Council on Global Change. (2008). *World in Transition: Climate Change as a Security Risk*. London and Sterling: Earthscan Publications Ltd.
- Ghai, Y. (2001). *Public participation and Minorities*. UK: Minority Rights Group International .
- Giddens, A. (2006). *Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giesbert, L., and Schindler, K. (2010). *Assets, Shocks, and Poverty Traps in Rural Mozambique*. Berlin: DIW. German Institute for Economic Research.
- Goh, A. H. (2012). *A Literature Review of the Gender-Differentiated Impacts of Climate Change on Women's and Men's Assets and Well-Being in Developing Countries. Collective Action and Property Rights*. Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.
- Goldstein, M., and Udry, C. (2005). *The Profits of Power: Land rights and Agricultural Investment in Ghana*. New Haven, CT: Yale University.
- Hadley, C., and Patil, C. (2006). Food Insecurity in Rural Tanzania Is Associated with Maternal Anxiety and Depression. *American Journal of Human Biology* , 18, 359–368.
- Hagmann, T., and Mulugeta, A. (2008). Pastoral conflicts and state-building in the Ethiopian lowlands. *Afrika Spectrum* , 43 (1), 19-37.
- Hamilton, L., and Dama, A. (2003) *Gender and Natural Resource Conflict Management In Nioro Du Sahel, Mali*. Issue paper no. 116. IIED. London, UK
- Hansson, S.-O. (2007). *Gender issues in climate adaptation*. Stockholm: FOI. Swedish Defence Research Agency.
- Harnischfeger, J. (2004). Sharia and control over territory: conflicts between 'settlers' and 'indigenes' in Nigeria. *African Affairs* , 103 (412), 431-452.
- Hartmann, B. (2009). From climate refugees to climate conflict: who is taking the heat for global warming. In M. A. Salih, *Climate Change and Sustainable Development: New Challenges for Poverty Reduction* (pp. 142–155). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishers.
- Hartmann, B. (2010). Rethinking climate refugees and climate conflict: Rhetoric, reality, and the Politics of Policy Discourse. *Journal of International Development* , 22, 233–246.

- Hartmann, I., and Segulle, A. (2009). The Impact of climate change on pastoral societies of Somaliland.
- Hartmann, I., and Segulle, A. (2009). The Impact of climate change on pastoral societies of Somaliland. Amoud University. Somaliland: Candle Light fr Health, Education and Environment.
- Hebo, M. (2006). Land, local custom and state policies:Land Tenure, Land Disputes and Disputes Settlement among the Arsii Oromo of Southern Ethiopia. Kyoto: Shoukadoh Book Sellers.
- Helmke, G. and Levitsky, S., 2004, 'Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda', Perspectives on Politics, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 725-740
- Hendrix, C., and Brinkman, H.-J. (2012). Food insecurity and conflict dynamics-causal linkages and complex feedbacks . Food Insecurity in Protracted Crisis - High-level Expert Forum.
- Hendrix, C., and Glaser, S. (2007). Trends and triggers: Climate, climate change and civil conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. Political Geography , 26 (6), 695-715.
- Hendrix, C., and Salehyan, I. (2012). Climate change, rainfall and social conflict in Africa. Journal of Peace Research , 49 (1), 35-50.
- Hesse, C., and Cotula, L. (2006). Climate Change and Pastoralists: Investing in People to Respond to Adversity. London: IIED.
- Hodgson, D. (1999). "Pastoralism, Patriarchy and History: Changing Gender Relations among Masaai in Tanganyika, 1890-1940., The Journal of African History , 40 (1), 41-65.
- Hodgson, D. (2000). Rethinking pastoralism in Africa : Gender, Culture and Myth of the Patriarchal Pastoralist. In D. (. Hodgson, Rethinking Pastoralism in Africa. London: James Currey.
- Homer-Dixon, T. (1999). Environmental scarcity, and violence . Princeton: Princeton Univeristy Press.
- Homewood, K. (2008). Ecology of African Pastoral Societies. Oxford. Athens. Pretoria: James Currey . Ohio University Press.
- Hoste, J. C., and Vlassenroot, K. (2009). Climate Change and Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa:the Mother of all Problems? International Symposium. Developing

- Countries facing Global Warming:a Post-Kyoto Assessment (pp. 139-149.).
Brussels: Royal Academy for Overseas Sciences. United Nations.
- Hughes, S., and Hughes, B. (2001). Women in Ancient Civilizations. In A. Michael, Agricultural and pastoral Societies in Ancient and Classical History (pp 116-150): Philadelphia : Temple University Press.
- Huho, J. M. (2012). Conflict Resolution among pastoral communities in West Pokot County, Kenya: A missing link. *Academic Research International* , 3 (3).
- Hulme, M., Doherty, R., Ngara, T., New, M., and Lister, D. (2001). African climate change: 1900-2100. *Climate Research* , 17, 145-168.
- Hussein, K., Sumberg, J., and Seddon, D. (1999). Increasing Violent Conflicts between Herders and Farmers in Africa:Cialms and evidence. *Journal of Development Policy Review* , 17, 397-418.
- IFAD. (2000). An IFAD approach to gender mainstreaming: The experience of the Latin America and the Carribean Division. Rome: IFAD.
- Ihucha, A. (2011, April 9) Tanzania: Without Land Rights Women Are 'Second Class Citizens'. The Arusha Times Newspaper, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201104120267.html>
- Ikdahl, I., Hellum, A., Kaarhus, R., and Benjaminsen, T. (2005). Human rights, formalisation and women's land rights in southern and eastern Africa. Aas: Noragric, Dept. of International Environment and Development Studies Norwegian University of Life Sciences (UMB) .
- IPCC. (2007). Climate change 2007: Impacts, adaptation and vulnerability. (M. L. Parry, O. F. Canziani, J. P. Palutikof, v. d. PJ, and C. E. Hanson, Eds.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- IPCC. (2007). Climate change: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability . Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, .
- IPCC. (2001). Climate Change: Impacts, Adaptation Vulnerability. "Contribution of Working Group II to the Third Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Geneva: UNEP/WMO.

- IPCC. (2007). Summary for Policymakers. In M. Parry, O. Canziani, J. Palutikof, v. d. P.J, and C. Hanson, Climate ChangeImpacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Cambridge, UK and New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- IPCC;. (2007). Summary for Policymakers. Climate Change : Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability.Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel onClimate Change . (M. L. Parry, O. F. Canziani, J. P. Palutikof, and V. d. Linden, Eds.) Cambridge; New York;, UK;USA;; Cambridge University Press, .
- Isinika, A., and Mutabazi, K. (2010). Gender Dimension of Land Conflicts:Examples frm Njombe and Maswa Districts in Tanzania. In K. Havnevik, and A. Isinika (Eds.), Tanzania in Transition: From Nyerere to Mkapa (pp. 131-158). Dares Salaam, Tanzania: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- IWGIA. (2013). International Work Group for Indigneous Affairs. Retrieved May 18, 2014 from International Work Group for Indigneous Affairs Web site : <http://www.iwgia.org/images/stories/sections/regions/africa/documents/2013/Tanzania.pdf>
- Jacobs, S. (2013). Gender and Agrarian Reforms. *Journal of Agrarian Change* , 13 (3), 454-56.
- Jacobs, S. (2004). Livelihoods, Security and Needs: Gender Relations and Land Reform in South Africa. *Journal of International Women's Studies* , 6 (1), 1-19.
- Jaroslav, T., and Stinnett, D. (2012). Weathering climate change:Can Institutions mitigate international water conflict? *Journal of Peace Research* , 49 (1), 211-225.
- Joekes, S., and Pointing, J. (1991). *Women in Pastoral Societies in East and West Africa*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development.
- John, W. (2011, February 2). Emerging Socio-Economic and Political Conflicts in Tanzania. Retrieved August 18, 2014 from Peace and conflict Monitor: <http://www.monitor.upeace.org/archieve.cfm?id.article=771>
- Johnsson-Latham, G. (2007). A study on gender equality as a prerequisite for sustainable development. Stockholm: Sweden: Environment Advisory Council.

- Jungehülsing, J. (2010). Women who go, women who stay: Reactions to climate change. A case study on migration and gender in Chiapas. Mexico, Central America. The Caribbean: Heinrich Böll Stiftung.
- Kagwanja, P. (2000). Ethnicity, gender and violence in Kenya. *Forced Migration review*, Special issue on gender and Displacement , 9, 22-25.
- Kahl, C. H. (2008). *States, Scarcity, and Civil Strife in the Developing World*. New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Kandagor, D. (2005). *Rethinking pastoralism and African development: A case study of the Horn of Africa* .
- Kangalawe, R. (2012). Food security and health in the southern highlands of Tanzania: A multidisciplinary approach to evaluate the impact of climate change and other stress factors. *African Journal of Environmental Science and Technology* , 6 (1), 50-66.
- Karl, M. (2009). *Inseparable : The Crucial Role of Women and Food Security Revisited*. Isis International, Women in Action Series Vo. 1.
- Kaser, G., Hardy, D. R., Molg, T., Bradley, R. S., and Hyera, T. M. (2004). Modern glacial retreat on Kilimanjaro as evidence of climate change: observations and facts. *International Journal of Climatology* , 24 (3), 329-339.
- Kavana, P., Kizima, J., Msanga, Y., Kilongozi, N., Msangi, B., Kadeng'uka, L., Mngulu, S., and Shimba, P., (2005) Potential of Pasture and Forage for Ruminant Production in Eastern Zone of Tanzania," *Livestock Research for Rural Development*, 17(144).
- Kavishe, F. P., and Mushi, S. (1993). *Nutrition- Relevant Actions in Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre.
- Kavishe, F., and Mushi, S. (1993). *Nutrition- Relevant Actions in Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Food AND Nutrition Centre.
- KDC. (2010). *Kilosa District Socio-Economic Profile* . Morogoro: Kilosa District Council.
- Keefer, P. (2009). *Conflict and Disaster*. Development Research Group. Washington DC: WorldBank- UN Project on the Economics of Disaster Risk.
- Keen, D. (1994). *The Benefits of Famine : A Political Economy of Famine and Relief in Southern Sudan, 1983-1989*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- Kelly, M., and Adger, N. (2000). Theory and Practice in Assessing Vulnerability to Climate Change and Facilitating Adaptation. *Climatic Change* , 47, 325 – 352.
- Kevane, M., and Gray, L. (2008). *Darfur: Rainfall and Conflict*. New York, USA: SSRN.
- Kilonzo, R. G. (2008). *Land Conflict in Subsaharan Africa: Development and Evictions Along the Morogoro Highway, Tanzania*. Eisenhower Parkway: ProQuest.
- Kimboya, F. (2012, September 23). Villagers: Find lasting solution to land disputes. *The Citizens Newspaper* .
- Ki-Moon, B. (2007, June 16). A Climate Culprit in Darfur. *The Washington Post* .
- King, N. (2013). Conflict Management among the Farmers and Pastoralists in Tanzania. *International SAMANM Journal of Business and Social Sciences* , 1 (2), 40-50.
- Kipuri, N., and Ridgewell, A. (2008). *A Double Bind: The Exclusion of Pastoralist Women in the East and Horn of Africa*. UK: Minority Rights Group International.
- Kipuri, N., and Sørensen, C. (2009). Poverty, pastoralism and policy in Ngorongoro: Lessons learned from the Ereto I Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project with implications for pastoral development and the policy debate. ERETO/IIED.
- Kiratu, S., Marker, L., and Mwakalobo, A. (2011). *Food Security: The Tanzanian Case. Series on Trade and the Food Security*. Trade Knowledge Network (tkn); iisd. Winnipeg, Manitoba: International Institute for Sustainable Development.
- Kirkbride, M., and Grahn, R. (2008). *Survival of the Fittest: Pastoralism and Climate Change in East Africa*. Oxfam. UK: Oxfam International .
- Kisoza, A., Kajembe, C., and Monela, C. (2004). Natural resource use conflicts in Kilosa district, Morogoro region, Tanzania. In K. Shemwetta, J. Luoga, C. Kajembe, and S. Madoffe (Ed.), *In: Proceedings of the IFRI East African Regional Conference*. Moshi, Tanzania: IFRI.
- Knodel, J. (1995). Focus Groups as a Qualitative Method for a Cross-Cultural Research in Social Gerontology. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* , 10 (1-2), 7-20.
- Koch, J. (2008). *Does Gender Matter in Fragile States?* Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies .
- Kombe, W. (2010). *Land conflicts in Dar es Salaam: Who gains? Who loses?* Houghton Street, London : Crisis States Research Centre, DESTIN, LSE .

- Korf, B. (2004). War, Livelihoods and Vulnerability in Sri Lanka. *Development and Change* , 35 (2), 177-197.
- Krätli, S., and Swift, J. (2001). Understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya: a literature review . Brighton: Institute of Development Studies/ University of Sussex.
- Kristjanson, P., Waters-Bayer, A., Johnson, N., Tipilda, A., Njuki, J., Baltenweck, I., et al. (2010). Livestock and women's livelihoods: A review of the recent evidence. Nairobi: International Livestock Research Institute.
- Kumssa, A. (2011). Conflict in Northern Kenya from a regional perspective . In A. Kumssa, J. H. Williams, and J. F. Jones, *Conflict and Human Security in Africa: Kenya in Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kweka, O. (2011). Being and staying pastoralists: In search of livelihood security for Maasai displacement, . Paper presented at the international conference on the future of pastoralism, 21-23 March 2011 . Sussex: Department of development studies, University of Sussex.
- Kweka, O. (1999). Migration and Land Use Changes in Arusha Region. a case study of Maasai in Monduli District. Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam.
- Kyalo, W. (2009). Impact of Policy and socio-economic factors on spatial Sistribution of livestock production systems in River Njoro watershed, Kenya. Nairobi: Egerton University .
- Lambrou, Y., and Piana, G. (2005). Gender: The Missing Component of the Response to Climate Change. FAO.
- Lamphear, J. (1992). *The scattering time: Turkana responses to colonial rule*. Oxford: Clarendon Pres.
- Land Rights Research and Resource Institute. (2009). *The Changing Terrain of Land use Conflicts in Tanzania and the future of Small Producer*. Dares Salaam: Land Rights Research and Resource Institute (LARRRI).
- Lastarria-Cornhiel, S. (1997). Impact of privatization on gender and property rights in Africa. *World Development* , 25, 1317-1333.
- Lecoutere, E., Vlassenroot, K., and Raeymaekers, T. (2009). Conflict, Institutional Changes and Food Insecurity in Eastern D.R. Congo. *Afrika Focus* , 22 (2), 41-63.

- Lee, J. (2009). *Climate Change and Armed Conflict: Hot and Cold Wars*. New York: Routledge.
- Leff, J. (2009). Pastoralists at War; Violence and Security in the Kenya-Sudan-Uganda Boarder Region . *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* , 3 (2), 188-203.
- Lema, M. A., and Majule, A. E. (2009). Impacts of climate change, variability and adaptation strategies on agriculture in semi arid areas of Tanzania: The case of Manyoni District in Singida Region, Tanzania. *African Journal of Environmental Science and Technology* , 3 (8), 206-218.
- Lemlem, A., and Yemane, B. (2007). Coping with Drought in the Borana Rangelands. In R. G. Andrew, and F. Fiona, *Gender and Pastoralism: Rangeland and Resource Management in Ethiopia* (pp. 59-70). Addis Ababa: SOS Sahel.
- Leone, M. (2013, October 28). Women as Decision Makers in Community Forest Management: Evidence from Nepal.
- Little, P., McPeak, J., Barrett, C., and Kristjanson, P. (2006). Multiple Dimensions of Poverty in Pastoral areas of East Africa: An overview Paper for 'Pastoralism and Poverty Reduction in East Africa'. A Policy research Conference on 27-28th June, 2006 held at Safari Park Hotel. Nairobi.
- Liwenga, E. T. (2003). *Food Insecurity and Coping Strategies in Semi-Arid areas : The case of Mvumi in Central Tanzania*.. Stockholm, Sweden: Stockholm University.
- Lombordg, B. (2001). *The Skeptical Environmentalist: Measuring the real state of the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lugoe, F. (2010). *Land-Pillar No. 5 of Kilimo Kwanza: Clearing the Ground to Success*. Dar es Salaam: DILAPS.
- Lund, C. (2011). *Land rights and Citizenship in Africa*. Discussion paper No.65. NorDiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala. [http://nai.diva portal.org/smash/get/diva2:460067/FULLTEXT01.pdf](http://nai.diva.portal.org/smash/get/diva2:460067/FULLTEXT01.pdf)
- Lwando, C. (2013). Climate Variability and Gender: Emerging Experiences From Western Zambia. *Environment and Natural Resources Research*; , 3 (4).
- Lyimo-Macha, J., and Mdoe, N. (2002). *Gender and Rural Poverty in Tanzania: Case of Selected Villages in Morogoro Rural and Kilosa districts*. UK: DFID.

- Maddison, D. (2006). *The Perception of and Adaptation to Climate Change in Africa. Environmental Economics and Policy in Africa*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Madulu, N. (1998). *Changing Lifestyle in Farming Societies of Sukumaland: The Case Study of Two Villages in Kwimba District, Tanzania, De-Agrarianization and Rural Employment Network*. Dar es Salaam: Afrika-Studiecentrum, Leiden and Institute of Resource Assessment.
- Maganga, F., Odgaard, R., and Sjaastad, E. (2007). *Contested Identities and Resource Conflicts in Morogoro Region, Tanzania: Who is Indigenous?* In B. Derman, R. Odgaard, and E. Sjaastad, *Conflicts over land and Water in Africa* (pp. 203-214). Oxford. East Lansing. Pietermaritzburg: James Currey. Michigan State University Press. University of Kwazulu-Natal Press.
- Majule, A. E., Ngongondo, C., Kallanda-Sabola, M., Lamboll, R., Stathers, T., Liwenga, E., et al. (2008). *Strengthening local Agric. Innovation Sys. in Less and More Favoured Areas of Tanzania and Malawi to Adapt to Climate Change and Variability: Perceptions. Impacts, vulnerability and adaptation* (Vol. 3). Morogoro: Sokoine University of Agriculture.
- Majule, E. (2008). *climate change and variability: "Impacts on agriculture and water resource and implications for livelihoods in selected basins*. In E. Majule, and T. Petermann (Ed.), *Towards climate change adaptation – Building adaptive capacity in managing African Trans boundary river basin*. Zschortau, German: InWent.
- Makoloo, O. M. (2005). *Kenya: Minorities, Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Diversity*. London, UK: Minority Rights Group International.
- Makoye, K. (2012). *Drought drives Tanzanian herders into conflict with farmers*. AlertNet. A Thomson Reuters Foundation services.
- Makwarimba, M., and Ngowi, P. (2012). *Making Land Investment Work for Tanzania: Scoping Assessment for Multi-stakeholder Dialogue Initiative*. Dares Salaam : Tanzania Natural Resource Forum. International Institute for Environment and Development. Research for Poverty Alleviation.

- Mamo, G. (2007). "Community?" Forest Management in Borana. In A. Ridgewell, M. Getachew, and F. Flintan, *Gender and Pastoralism Vol.1: Rangeland and Resource Management in Ethiopia* (pp. 15-30). Addis Ababa: SOS Sahel Ethiopia.
- Marcel, Rutten., and Mwangi, Moses,. (2014). How Natural is Natural? Seeking Conceptual Clarity over Natural Resources and Conflicts . In Bavinck, Maarten, Bavinck, Lorenzo Pellegrini, and Erik Mostert, *Conflicts over Natural Resources in the Global South: Conceptual Approaches*. London: CRC Press, UK.
- Markakis, J. (1994). Ethnic conflict and the state in the Horn of Africa. In K. Fukui, and J. Markakis, *Ethnicity and conflict in the Horn of Africa* (pp. 217-237). London: James Currey.
- Markakis, J. (2004). *Pastoralism on the Margin*. London, UK: Minority rights Group International .
- Mary, A., and Majule, E. (2009). Impacts of climate change, variability and adaptation strategies on agriculture in semi arid areas of Tanzania:The case of Manyoni District in Singida Region Tanzania. *African Journal of Environmental Science and Technology* , 3 (8), 206-218.
- Masika, R., and Joeke, S. (1997). *Environmentally Sustainable development and Poverty: a gendered analysis*. Gender Equality Unit,Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). Brighton BN1 9RE, UK: Institute of Development Studies.
- Matari, E., Chang'a, L., G. C., and Hyera, T. (2008). Climate Change scenario development for Second National Communication-Tanzania. *TMA Research Journal* , 1, 40-54.
- Matari, E., Chang'a, L., G. C., and Hyera, T. (2008). Climate Change scenario development for Second National Communication-Tanzania. *TMA Research Journal* , 1, 40-54.
- Mattee, Z. A., and Shem, M. (2006). Ambivalence and contradiction: A review of the policy environment in Tanzania in relation to Pastoralism. *Pastoral Civil Society in East Africa* (140).
- Mbonile, M., and Mwamfupe, D. (1997). In-migrants and their Impacts on Land Management: A case of Usangu Plains. *Tanzania Journals of Population Studies and Development* , 4 (1), 37-53.

- McCabe, J. T., Leslie, W. P., and DeLuca, L. (2010). Adopting Cultivation to Remain Pastoralists: The Diversification of Maasai Livelihoods in Northern Tanzania. *Human Ecology* , 38 (3), 321–334.
- McLean, J. (2014, January 3). How politics clouds the climate change debate. *The Age* .
- Meena, H. E., and Sharif, S. Z. (2008). Gender, Poverty and Food Security in Relation to Climate Change Impact and Adaptation, a case of Kilimanjaro Region. Dar es Salaam: CEEST Foundation.
- Meena, R. (2007). Women Participation in Positions of Power and Influence in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: REDET.
- Meier, P., Bond, D., and Bond, J. (2007). Environmental influences on pastoral conflict in the Horn of Africa. *Political Geography* , 26, 716-735.
- Menkhaus, K. (2007). The crisis in Somalia: Tragedy in five acts. *African Affairs* , 106 (424), 357-390.
- Messer, E., and Cohen, M. J. (2006). Conflict, Food Insecurity, and Globalization. Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.
- Messer, E., Cohen, M. J., and Marchione, T. (2000). Conflict: A Cause and Effect of Hunger. Environmental Change and Security Report .
- Mikkelsen, C. (2005). Indigeneous peoples, Gender and natural resource management. IGARM (Network on indigenous peoples, gender and natural resource management. Copenhagen K, Denmark: Danish Institute for International Studies, DIIS.
- Misafi, H. (2014). Women's Participation in Decentralized Local Governance: The case of Pastoral and Non-Pastoral Women in Kondoa Authority, Tanzania. Ghent: Ghent University.
- Misselhorn, A. A. (2005). What Drives Food insecurity in Southern Africa? A Meta-analysis of Household Economy Studies. *Global Environmental Change* 15 , 15, 33–43.
- Mitchell, D. (2010). Biofuels in Africa: Opportunities, prospects and Challenges. Herndon, VA: World Bank Publications .
- Mitzlaff, v. (1988). Life in a Patriarchal Society: Field Research Among the Parakuyo Tanzania. Munich. Dar es Salaam: Trickster Verlag. Tanzania Publishing House.

- Mjasiri, J. (2012) "Ikwiriri Clash: Red flag or smoking gun?" Daily News (Tanzania) Newspaper. Sunday 27 May, 2012 accessed on April 4, 2013 from <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/features/popular-features/5546-ikwiriri-clashes-red-flag-or-smoking-gun>
- Mkapa, B. (2008). Leadership for Growth, Development and Poverty reduction: An African Viewpoint and Experience. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Mkutu, K. (2001). Pastoralism and Conflict in the Horn of Africa. Nairobi: Africa Peace Forum.Saferworld.University of Bradford.
- Mkutu, K. (2006). Small Arms and Light Weapons Among pastoral groups in the Kenya-Uganda boarder area. African Affairs , 106 (422), 47-70.
- Mkutu, K. (2008). Uganda: Pastoral Conflict and Gender. Review of African Political Economy , 35 (116), 237-254.
- Mkutu, K. (2008). Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley, Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms. Oxford.Bloomington: James Currey. Indiana University Press.
- Mkutu, K. (2001). Pastoralism and Conflict in the Horn of Africa. London: APFO/Saferworld/University of Bradford.
- Mkutu, K. (2013). Security in Ungoverned Spaces and the Oil Find in Turkana,Kenya. SSRN.
- Mkutu, K., and Marani, M. (2001). The role of civic leaders in the mitigation of cattle-rustling and small arms: The case of Laikipia and Samburu. Nairobi: African Peace Forum.
- Mongi, H., Majule, A. E., and Lyimo, G. J. (2010). Vulnerability and adaptation of rain fed agriculture toclimate change and variability in semi-arid Tanzania. African Journal of Environmental Science and Technology , 4 (6), 371-381.
- Moon, B. K. (2007, June 16). A climate culprit in Darfur. Washington Post , p. A15.
- Morton, F. (1979). The Structure of East African Age- sets systems (Masai,Arusha,Nandi and Kikuyu). Botswana Journal of African Studies , 1 (2), 77-102.
- Morrissey, J. (2009). Environmental change and forced migration. Workshop on Environmental change and forced Migration: A State of the Art Review, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, Oxford.

- Mousseau, F., and Mittal, A. (2011). Understanding land investment deals in Africa—countryreport: Tanzania. Oakland, CA: The Oakland Institute.
- Moyo, S. (2007). Land in the political economy of African development: alternative strategies for reform. *Africa Development*, 32 (4), 1–34.
- Msigwa , G. B., and Mvena, Z. K. (2014). Changes in livelihoods of evicted agro-pastoralists from Ihefu Basin in Tanzania. *Livestock Research for Rural Development*, 26 (1).
- Mugabi, C. (2013). Challenges facing Land Onwership in Rural Tanzania: What needs to be done? Dar es Salaam : Economic and social Research Foundation .
- Mulinge, M. E. (2013). Introduction . In M. E. Mulinge, and M. (. Getu, Impacts of Climate Change and Variability on pastoralist Women in Sub-Saharan Africa (pp. 1-16). Kampala.Addis Ababa: Fountain Publishers. OSSREA.
- Mulubrham, B., and Kelemework, T. (2013). Gendered Impacts and Adaptation Mechanisms to Climate Change among Afar Pastoralists in North Eastern Ethiopia. In M. Mulinge, and M. Getu, Impacts of Climate Change and Variability on Pastoralist Women in Sub-Saharan Africa (pp. 83-120). Kampala: Fountain Publishers.
- Mulugeta, A., and Hagmann, T. (2008). Governing violence in the pastoralist space: Karrayu and state notions of cattle raiding in the Ethiopian Awash Valley. *Afrika focus*, Volume 21 (2), 71-87.
- Mung'ong'o, C., and Mwamfupe, D. (2003). Poverty and Changing Livelihoods of Migrant Maasai Pastoralists in Morogoro and Kilosa Districts, Tanzania. Research on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA). Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, LTD.
- Munishi, E. (2013). Rural-Urban Migration of the Maasai Nomadic Pastoralist Youth and Resilience in Tanzania:Case Studies in Ngorongoro District,Arusha Region and Dares Salaam City. Freiburg im Breisgau: Albert-Ludwigs-Universitat Freiburg.
- Murunga, G. (2005). Conflict in Somalia and Crime in Kenya: Understanding the Trans-Territoriality of Crime¹. *African Asian Studies*, 137-161.
- Mushi, V. (2013). Women Pastoralists and Climate Change Impacts in Kilosa District, Tanzania. In M. Mulinge, M. Getu, M. Mulinge, and M. Getu (Eds.), Impacts of

- Climate Variability and Change on Pastoralist Women in Sub-Saharan Africa (pp. 155-185). Addis Ababa. Kampala: OSSREA . Fountain Publishers.
- Mwagiru, M. (1997). Women and children in conflict situations: The culture of rights as a missing link in Africa . Africa Media Review .
- Mwakikagile, G. (2006). Tanzania under Mwalimu Nyerere: Reflections on an African Statesman, New Africa Press, 2006:. New African Press .
- Mwambene, P. L., Mbwire , R. P., Hoeggel , F. U., Kimbi , E. C., Materu , J., Mwaiganju, A., et al. (2014). Assessing dynamics of forced livestock movements, livelihoods and future development options for pastoralists/agro-pastoralists in Ruvuma and Lindi Regions, in the Southern Tanzania. Livestock Research for Rural Development , 26 (1).
- Mwamugopole, I. (2010). Putting tested wisdom into practice: "Relevance and applicability of Nyakyusa traditional conflict resolution practices to contemporary environmental challenges in Tanzania. In D. Mwiturubani, J. Van Wyk, D. Mwiturubani, and J. Van Wyk (Eds.), climate change and natural resources conflicts in Africa (pp. 123-138). The Hague: ISS.
- Mwandosya, M. J. (2006). Mainstreaming Environment and Climate Change Concerns in National Planning in Tanzania. A paper presented at Development and Climate workshop Integrated Development and Climate policies: how to realize benefits at national and international level. Paris: United Republic of Tanzania.
- Mwandosya, M. J., Nyenzi, B. S., and Luhanga, M. L. (1998). The Assessment of Vulnerability and Adaptation to Climate Change Impacts in Tanzania. Dar-es-Salaam: Centre for Energy, and Environmental Science .
- Mwikwabe, M. (2011). The Sustainable Livelihood and Displacement: Case of Artisanal and Small-scale Gold Miners in North Mara. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.
- Mwikwabe, M. (2011). The Sustainable Livelihood and Displacement: Case of Artisanal and Small-Scale gold miners in the NorthMara . The Hague: International Institute of Sociao Studies .
- Nalugaya, R. (2013, January 7). Tension as Tanzania's Embattled Pastoralists Fight to Survive. Africa Review .

- Nangobi, J. (2012, February). Safeguarding Food Security in the Face of Climate change: What are the Grassroots women's initiatives? Making Grassroots Communities Resilient to Disasters and Climate threats (3).
- Nelson, F., Sulle, E., and Lekaita, E. (2012). Land Grabbing and Political Transformation in Tanzania . International Conference on Global Land Grabbing II October 17-19, 2012 . Ithaca, NY.: Land Deal Politics Initiative.
- Nelson, G. (2008). Review of the Gender Dimensions of Land-Based Conflict in the Pacific. Land Management and Conflict Minimisation Sub-Project 2.6. Suva. Suva.Fiji: The Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat LMCM project.
- Neumayer, E., and Plümper, T. (2007). The gendered nature of natural disasters: the impact of catastrophic events on the gender gap in life expectancy, 1981–2002. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* , 97 (3), 551-566.
- Nicholson, S. E. (2001). Climatic and environmental change in Africa during the last two centuries. *Climate Research* , 17, 123-144.
- Njiru, B. (2012). Climate change, resource competition, and conflict amongst pastoral communities in Kenya. In J. Scheffran, M. Brzoska, H. Brauch, P. Link, and J. Schilling, *Climate change, human security and violent conflict: challenges for societal stability* (pp. 513–527). Berlin: Springer.
- Nkedianye, D., Leeuw, J. d., Ogutu, J. O., Said, M. Y., Saidimu, T. L., Kifugo, S. C., et al. (2011). Mobility and livestock mortality in communally used pastoral areas: the impact of the 2005-2006 drought on livestock mortality in Maasailand. *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* , 1 (11).
- Nordås, R., and Gleditsch, N. (2007). Climate change and conflict. *Political Geography* , 26 (6), 627-638.
- Nori, M., Switzer, J., and Crawford, A. (2005). Herding on the Brink: Towards a Global Survey of pastoral Communities and Conflict. IISD.CEESP.IUCN.
- Notaras, M. (2009, 11 27). Does climate change cause conflicts? Retrieved July 1, 2014 from United Nations University Website: <http://ourworld.unu.edu/en/does-climate-change-cause-conflict>
- Nyukuri, E., and Wakhungu, J. (2008). Climate Change and Conflict in East and Horn of Africa. African Center for Technology Studies., Nairobi, Kenya.

- Odgaard, R. (2006). *Land Rights and Land Conflicts in Africa: The Tanzania Case*. Copenhagen: Danish Institute of International Studies .
- Odour Vincent (2011) The Maasai woman: A social – economic engine of Maasai life. 17 Jan. 2011.
http://www.intracen.org/The_Maasai_Woman_a_social_economic_Engine_of_Maasai_Life/ accessed on the 4th June 2014
- Odgaard, R. (2003). Scrambling for Land in Tanzania: Proceses of Formalization and legitimization of land rights. In T. A. Benjaminsen, and C. Lund, *Securing Land rights in Africa* (pp. 71-88). London.Oregon: Frank Cass.
- O'Brien, K., and Leichenko, R. (2000). Double Exposure: Assessing the Impacts of Climate Change Within the Context of Globalization. *Global Environmental Change* , 10, 221 - 232.
- Ojalammi, S. (2006). *Contested Lands: Land Disputes in Semi-Arid Parts of Northern Tanzania: Case Studies of the Loliondo and Sale Divisions*. Department of Geography. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Olson, J., Rubin, D., and Wangui, E. (2010). *Gender, agriculture, and climate change: a regional analysis for USAID/East Africa* (Vol. 39). US Agency for International Development.
- Omolo, N. (2010). . Gender and climate change-induced conflict in pastoral communities: case study of Turkana in Northwestern Kenya. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* , 10 (2), 81-102.
- Ongoro, E. B., and Ogara, W. (2012). Impact of climate change and gender roles in community adaptation: A case study of pastoralists in Samburu East District, Kenya. *International Journal of Biodiversity and Conservation* , 4 (2), 78-89.
- Opiyo, F., Wasonga, O., Schilling, J., and Mureith, S. (2012). Resource-based conflicts in drought-prone North-western Kenya: The drivers and mitigation mechanisms. *Wudpecker Journal of Agricultural Research* , 1 (11), 442 - 453.
- Opiyo, F., Wasonga, O., Schilling, J., and Mureithi, S. (2012). Resource-based conflicts in drought - prone North-Western Kenya: The drivers and mitigation mechanisms. *Wudpecker Journal of Agricultural Research* , 1 (11), 442-453.

- Paavola, J. (2008). Livelihoods, vulnerability and adaptation to climate change in Morogoro, Tanzania. *Environmental Science and Policy* , 11 (7), 642–654.
- Paavola, J. (2003). Vulnerability to Climate Change in Tanzania: Sources, Substance and Solutions. A paper presented at the inaugural workshop of Southern Africa Vulnerability Initiative (SAVI) in Maputo, Mozambique June 19-21. Conference paper , Maputo.
- Palacious, A. C., and Mehta, P. K. (2011). Food Security and Gender: A Case of Mewat District of Haryana, India. Haryana: Institute of Rural Research and Development (An initiative of S.M. Sehgal Foundation).
- Patton, Q. M. (2002). Qualitative evaluation and research methods (Vol. 3rd). Thousand Oaks, CA:: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Pearce, S. (2006). Religious Rage: A Quantitative Analysis of the Intensity of Religious Conflicts. *Terrorism and Political Violence* , 17 (3), 333-352.
- Pingali, P., Alinovi, L., and Sutton, J. (2005). Food Security in Complex Emergencies : Enhancing food System Resilience. *Disasters* , 29 (s1), 5-24.
- PINGOs-Forum, LARRRI, HIMWA. (2007). A Report on Eviction and Resettlement of Pastoralists from Ihefu and Usangu-Mbarali District to Kilwa and Lindi Districts. Dar es Salaam: PINGOs-Forum. LARRRI.HIMWA.
- Platteau, J.-P. (1999). The evolutionary theory of land rights as applied to sub-Saharan Africa: a critical assessment. *Development and Change* , 27, 29–86.
- Potkanski, T. (1994). Pastoral Economy, Property Rights and Mutual Assistance Mechanisms among the Ngorongoro and Salei Maasai in Tanzania. Warsaw: University of Warsaw.
- Puglisi, R. (2010). Clashing Agendas? Economic Interests, Elite Coalitions and Prospects for Cooperation between Russia and Ukraine. *Europe-Asia Studies* , 55 (6), 827-845,.
- Quisumburg, A., Payongayong, E., Aidoo, J., and Otsuka, K. (2003). Women's land rights in the Transition to Individualised ownership: implications for the management of the Tree Resources in western Ghana. In A. Quisumburg (Ed.), *Household Decisions , Gender and Development: a synthesis of recent research* (pp. 169-175). Washington, D.C: International Food Policy Research Institute.

- Raeymaekers, T. (2008). Conflict and food security in Beni- Lubero: Back to future? In L. Allinovi, G. Hemrich, and L. Russo, *Beyond Relief. Food Security in Protracted Crises* (pp. 169-195). Rome: Practical Action Publishing.
- Raleigh, C., and Kniveton, D. (2012). Come Rain or Shine: An Analysis of Conflict and Climate Variability in East Africa. *Peace Research* , 49 (1), 51-64.
- Raleigh, C., and Urdal, H. (2007). Climate change, environmental degradation and armed conflict. *Political Geography* , 26 (6), 674–694.
- Raleigh, C., Jordan, L., and Salehyan, I. (2008). Assessng the impact of Climate change on Migration and conflict . A paper prepared for the social Dimensions of Climate Changer Prepared. Washington,DC: World Bank.
- Ratner, B., Meinzen-Dick, R., and May, C. (2013). Resource Conflct,collective action, and resilience:An analytical framework. *International Journal of the Commons* , 7 (1), 183-208.
- Redding-Jones, J. (2005). What is Research: Methodological Practices and New Approaches. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Reddy, V., and Moletsane, R. (2009). The Gendered Dimensions of Food Security in South Africa: A Review of the Literature. Pretoria: Human Science Research Council (HSRC).
- Reuveny, R. (2007). Climate change-induced migration and violent conflict. *Political Geography* , 26 (6), 656–673.
- Richards, P. (2005). To fight or to farm? Agrarian Dimensions of the Mano River Conflicts (Liberia and Sierra Leone). *African Affairs* , 104 (417), 571-590.
- Righarts, M. (2009). Climate Change in Conflict. *Natural Hazard Observer* , XXXIII (4), 11-14.
- Robbins, P. (2004). *Political Ecology. A Critical Introduction*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Roberts, M. (2009). War, climate change and women. *Journal of Race, Poverty and Environment* , 16 (2).
- Rockmore, M. (2012). *Living Within Conflicts : Risk of Violence and Livelihood*. Brighton, UK: Households in Conflict Network.

- Rosegrant, M. W., Paisner, M. S., Meijer, S., and Witcover, J. (2001). *Global food projections to 2020: Emerging Trends and Alternative Futures*. Washington DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.
- Ross, M. (2004). What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War? *Journal of Peace Research* , 41 (3), 337–356.
- Russo, L., Hemrich, G., Allinovi, L., and Melvin, D. (2008). Food Security in protracted crisis situations: Issues and challenges. In L. Allinovi, G. Hemrich, L. Russo, L. Allinovi, G. Hemrich, and L. Russo (Eds.), *Beyond Relief: Food Security in Protracted Crises* (pp. 1-10). Warwixshire: Practical Action Publishing .
- Rwebangira, M. K. (1999). Gender and land legislation in Tanzania:With particular reference to the land bills of 1998. Paper presented at the workshop organized by the Forests, Trees and People Program at SUA, Morogoro. Morogoro: Unpublished.
- Rwegasira, A. (2012). *Land as a Human Right:A history of land laws and Practice in Tanzania*. Dares Salaam, Tanzania: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers LTD.
- Sachs, J. (2005, March 1). Climate Change and War. Retrieved July 1, 2014 from Global Policy Forum Website : <http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/211/44606.html>
- Salehyan, I. (2008). From Climate Change to Conflict? No Consensus Yet. *Journal of Peace Research* , 45 (3), 315–326.
- Sayne, A. (2011). *Climate Change,Adaptation and Conflict in Nigeria*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Scalise, E. (2012). Indigenous women’s land rights: case studies from Africa. *State of the World’s Minorities and Indigenous Peoples* , pp. 52-59. London, UK:Minority Rights Group International.
- SCCAPS. (2011). Strauss Center. Retrieved March 26, 2013 from Strauss Center website: <http://www.strausscenter.org/ccaps/research/about-social-conflict.html>
- Schilling, J., Opiyo, F., and Scheffran, J. (2012). Raiding pastoral livelihoods: motives and effects of violent conflict in north-western Kenya. *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* , 2 (25).

- Schmidhuber, J., and Tubiello, F. (2007). Global Food Security under Climate Change. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* , 104 (50), 19703-19708.
- Schmundt, H. (2006). Climate Research in the Death Zone: Why Is Mt.Kilimanjaro Melting? *Spiegel Online International* .
- Schomerus, M., and Allen, T. (2010). Southern Sudan at Odds with Itself: Dynamics of Conflict and Predicaments of Peace. London: Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Scoones, I. (2009). Livelihoods Perspectives and Rural Development. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36(1), 171–196.
- Seddon, D., and Adhikari, J. (2003). Conflict and Food Security in Nepal: A preliminary analysis. Kathmandu: Rural Reconstruction Nepal (RRN).
- Sedik, D., Sotnikov, S., and Wiesmann, D. (2003). Food Security in Russian Federation . Rome: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations .
- Sen, A. (1981). *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Senbeta, A. (2009). Climate Change Impact on Livelihood, Vulnerability and Coping Mechanisms: A Case Study of West-Arsi Zone, Ethiopia. LUNDI University . Sweden: unpublished.
- Sendalo, D. (2009). A Review of land tenure Policy implications on Pastoralism in Tanzania. Ministry of Livestock Development and Fisheries, Livestock Research, Training and Extension , Dar es Salaam .
- Shao, I. (2008). Democracy and Land Conflicts in Tanzania: The case of pastoralists versus Farmers. *Tanzania Journal of Development Studies* , 8 (2), 71-83.
- Shem, M. N., Mtengeti, E., and Mutayoba, K. S. (2005). Development of Livestock Management and Policy Strategies for Pastoralists in Kilosa, Morogoro Region, Tanzania. AICAD.
- Shem, N. M. (2010). Impacts of Government Policies on Pastoralist Livelihoods in the Semi-Arid Areas of Tanzania. ICID+18 August 16-20, 2010. Fortaleza-Ceara, Brazil.
- Shemsanga, C., Omambia, N. A., and Gu, Y. (2010). the cost of climate change in Tanzania: Impacts and adaptations. *Journal of American Science* , 6 (3), 182-196.

- Sicard, G. M. (1998). *A Tale of a Maasai Girl*. Sussex: The Book Guild Ltd.
- Simmons, E. (2013). *Harvesting Peace: Food Security, Conflict, and Cooperation*. Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars.
- Skinner, E. (2011). *Gender and Climate Change: Overview Report*. Institute of Development Studies.
- Slimane, S. (2003). *Recognizing Minorities in Africa*. London, UK: Minority Rights Group International.
- Smit, B., and Wandel, J. (2006). Adaptation, adaptive capacity and vulnerability. *Global Environmental Change*, 16, 282–292.
- Smith, M., Pointing, J., and Maxwell, S. (1992). *Household food security, concepts and definitions: An Annotated Bibliography*. University of Sussex: Institute of Development Studies.
- Spichiger, R., Broegaard, R., Pedersen, R., and Ravnborg, H. (2013). *Land administration, Gender equality and Development Cooperation: Lessons learned and Challenges ahead*. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Staniland, P. (2010). Cities on Fire: Social Mobilization, State Policy, and Urban Insurgency. *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 1623 originally published online 11 June, 43 (12), 1623 –1649.
- Stepan, A. (2000). Religion, Democracy, and the "Twin Tolerations". *Journal of Democracy*, 11 (4), 37-57.
- Stern, J. (2000). Pakistan's Jihad Culture. *Foreign Affairs*, 79 (6), 115-126.
- Suhrke, A. (1993). *Pressure Points: Environmental degradation, Migration and Conflict*. International Security program, American Academy of Arts and sciences and the Peace and Conflict studies Program. University of Toronto.
- Sulle, E., and Nelson, F. (2009,). *Biofuels, Land Access and Rural Livelihoods in Tanzania*. London: IIED.
- Tacoli, C. (2009). Crisis or adaptation? Migration and Climate Change in a Context of High Mobility. *Environment and Urbanization* 2009 21: 513, 21 (2), 513-525.
- Tadesse, B., Tesfaye, Y., and Beyene, F. (2010). Women in conflict and indigenous conflict resolution among the Issa and Gurgura clans of Somali in Eastern Ethiopia. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 10 (1), 85-110.

- Talle, A. (1990). Ways of Milk and Meat Among the Maasai: Gender Identity and Food Resources in a Pastoral Economy. In G. (. Palsson, From Water to World-Making: African Models and Arid Lands (pp. 73-92). Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.
- Talle, A. (1988). Women at a Loss: Changes in Maasai Pastoralism and Their Effects on Gender Relations. Stockholm: Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology.
- Tanner, T., and Allouche, J. (2011). Towards a new political economy of climate change and development. IDS Bulletin , 42 (3).
- Taranenko, O. (2007). Ukrainian and Russian in contact: attraction and estrangement. International Journal of the Sociology of Language , 2007 (183), 119-140.
- Tenga, R. (1999). Legitimizing Dispossession: The Tanzanian High Court's Decision on the Eviction of Maasai Pastoralists from Mkomazi Game Reserve. Cultural Survival Quarterly , 22 (4).
- The Center for Science and Public Policy. (2003). White Paper: The Consensus on Kilimanjaro is wrong.
- Theisen, M. O. (2012). Climate clashes? Weather variability, land pressure, and organized violence in Kenya, 1989–2004. Journal of Peace Research , 49 (1), 81-96.
- Theisen, M. O., Holtermann, H., and Buhaug, H. (2011). Climate Wars?: Assessing the Claim That Drought Breeds Conflict. International Security , 36 (3), 79-106.
- Thiels, J. (2012). Ethnographic Project Guidelines. Albion College.
- Thornton, P. K., Jones, P. G., Owiyo, T., Kruska, R. L., Herrero, M., Kristjanson, P., et al. (2006). Mapping Climate Vulnerability and Poverty in Africa. Department for International Development . Nairobi: International Livestock Research Institute.
- Tierney, K. J., Lindell, M. K., and Perry, R. (2001). Facing the Unexpected: Disaster Preparedness and Response in the United States. Washington, D.C: Joseph Henry Press.
- Travers, M. (2001). *Qualitative Research Through Case Studies*. London. Sage Publications.
- Twigg, J. (2007). Characteristics of a Disaster-resilient Community: A Guidance Note. DFID Disaster Risk Reduction Interagency Coordination Group.

- Ukiwo, U. (2003). Politics, ethno-religious conflicts and democratic and consolidation in Nigeria. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* , Volume 41 (1), 115 - 138.
- UNFCCC. (2006.). Documentation for the African regional workshop on climate change adaptation held in Accra, Ghana, in September 2006.
- UNISDR. (2009). Making Disaster Risk Reduction Gender Sensitive: Policy and Practical Guidelines . Geneva, Switzerland: UNISDR.UNDP.IUCN.
- United Nations . (2014). Millenium Development Goals Report. NewYork: United Nations.
- United Nations Development Programme. (2010). Millenium Development Goals and Climate Change adaptation "The contribution of UNDP-GEF Adaptation Initiatives towards MDG3". UNDP.
- United Nations Environmental Programme. (2007a). Environmental Degradation Triggering Tensions and Conflict in Sudan. UNEP.
- United Nations Environmental Programme. (2007b). Sudan: Post-conflict environmental assessment. Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme.
- United Republic of Tanzania . (1997). The Agriculture and Livestock Policy. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (2006). Adaptation Planning And Implementation: Agriculture And Food Security in UNFCCC African Regional Workshop on Adaptation. Dar es Salaam: United Republic of Tanzania.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (1977). Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (as amended 2008). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: The Government Printer.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (2010). Kilosa District : Socio- Economic Profile. Kilosa, Tanzania/Morogoro: Tanzania Government Printers.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (2002). Morogoro Region: Socio-Economic profile (Second edition ed.). Morogoro: National Bureau of Statistics and Morogoro:Office of the Regional Commissioner.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (2007). Morogoro Region: Socio-Economic Profile. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: National Bureau of statistics and Morogoro: Office of the Regional Commissioner.

- United Republic of Tanzania. (2007). National Adaptation Programme of Action. Vice President's Office, Division of Environment. Dares Salaam: URT.UNEP.GEF.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (2012). National Climate Change Strategy . Dares Salaam: Vice President's Office. Division of Environment.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (1997). National Land Policy. Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements development . Dar es Salaam,Tanzania: Government Press.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (2006). National Livestock Policy. Ministry of Livestock Development . Dares Salaam: Tanzania Government Printers.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (1997). Tanzania Investment Act No.25. Dares Salaam: Tanzania Government Printers.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (2010). Tathmini ya Maafa Yaliyosababishwa na Mafuriko, Wilayani Kilosa, Mkoa wa Morogoro. Dares Salaam: Idara ya Maafa.Ofisi ya Makamu wa Rais wa Tanzania.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (1999a). The Land Act No. 4. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: The Government Press.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (2011). The Economics of Climate Change in the United Republic of Tanzania: A study by the Global Climate Adaptation Partnership and partners. Dares Salaam: URT;UKaid;.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (1999a). The Land Act Cap 113 [Revised Edition 2002]. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: The Government Press.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (1995). The National Land Policy. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: The Government Press.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (1995). The National Land Policy. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Tanzania Government Printers.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (1999b). The Village Land Act. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: The Government Printer.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (1999b). The Village Land Act Cap 114 [Revised edition 2002]. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Tanzania Government Printers.
- United Republic of Tanzania; (2008). Tanzanian Initial National Communication. Dar es Salaam: United Republic of Tanzania.office of the Vice President.

- United Republic of Tanzania;. (2008). Tanzanian Initial National Communication. Dar es Salaam: United Republic of Tanzania.Office of the Vice President.
- Urmilla, B. (2010). Land -related Conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa . African Journal of Conflict Resolution , 1-, 49-64.
- Van Acker, F. (2005). Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army: the New Order no One Ordered. African Affairs , 103 (412), 335–357 .
- Van Donge, J. (1993). Legal Insecurity and Land Conflicts in Mgeta, Uluguru Mountains, Tanzania. Africa: Journal of the International African Institute , 63 (2), 197-218.
- Verpoorten, M. (2009). Household Coping in War- and Peacetime: Cattle Sales in Rwanda, 1991–2001. Journal of Development Economics , 88 (1), 67–86.
- Vlassenroot, K. (2012). Dealing with land issues and conflict in eastern Congotowards an integrated approach. Online Publication.
- Vlassenroot, K. (2008). Land tenure, Conflict and Household Strategies in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. In L. Allonovi, G. Hmrich, and L. Russo, Beyond Relief: Food Security in Protracted Crises (pp. 197-221). Rome: Practical Action Publishing.
- Vlassenroot, K., and Huggins, C. (2005). Land, Migration and Conflict in eastern DRC. In C. Huggins, and J. Clover, From the Ground Up: Land Rights, Conflict and Peace in Sub-Saharan Africa (pp. 115–94). Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.
- Vlassenroot, K., and Raeymaekers, T. (2004). Conflict and Social Transformation in Eastern DR Congo. Ghent : Academic Press.
- Vlassenroot, K., and Raeymaekers, T. (2008). Crisis and Food Security Profile: The Democratic Republic of the Congo. In L. Allonovi, G. Hmrich, and L. Russo, Beyond Relief: Food Security in Protracted Crisis (pp. 157-168). Rome: Practical Action Publishing.
- Vlassenroot, K., Ntutuba, S., and Raeymaekers, T. (2006). Food Security Responses to the Protracted Crisis Context of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Rome: FAO.
- Walker, C. (2002). Land Reform in Southern and Eastern Africa : Key issues for strenghtening women'ss access to and land rights . FAO Sub-regional office for Southern and eastern Africa,. Harare: Food and Agriculture Organisation .

- Walker, P. (1989). *Famine and Early warning systems: Victims and destitution*. London: Earthscan.
- Walsh, M. (2007). *Pastoralism and Policy Processes in Tanzania: Case Study and Recommendations* September. Filling in the Knowledge Gaps to Better Understand Policy Options for Pastoralism and Rangeland Management. A Report to the Tanzanian Natural Resources Forum, Contribution to the collaborative study, Arusha, Arusha.
- Wangui, E. (2008). Development interventions, changing livelihoods, and the making of female Maasai pastoralists. *Agriculture and Human Values* , 25 (3), 365–378.
- West, C. T., Roncoli, C., and Ouattara, F. (2008). Local Perceptions and Trends on the Central Plateau of Burkina Faso. *Land Degradation and Development* , 19 (3), 289-304.
- Whitehead, A. (2004). *The Gendered Impact of Liberalisation Policies on African Agricultural Economies and Rural Livelihoods*. Geneva: UNRISD.
- Whitehead, A., and Tsikata, D. (2003). 'Policy Discourses on Women's Land Rights in SubSaharan Africa: The Implications of the Return to the Customary'. *Journal of Agrarian Change* , 3 (1-2), 67–112.
- Witsenberg, K. M., and Wario, A. R. (2009). Of Rain and Raids: Violent Livestock Raiding in Northern Kenya. *Civil Wars* , 11 (4), 514-538.
- World Bank. (2003). *Breaking the Conflict Trap : Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- World Bank. (1986). *Poverty and Hunger: Issues and Options for Food Security in Developing Countries*. Washington D.C: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (The World Bank).
- World Food Programme. (2009, March 5). *Women Shoulder Heaviest Burden in Global Crisis*. Retrieved November 29, 2013 from World Food programme website: <http://www.wfp.org/stories/women-shoulder-heaviest-burden-global-food-crisis>
- World Food Programme. (2009). *Women Shoulder Heaviest Burden in Global Crisis*. Retrieved November 29, 2013 from <http://www.wfp.org/stories/women-shoulder-heaviest-burden-global-food-crisis>

- Yanda, P. , and Mubaya, C. (2011). Managing a Changing Climate in Africa: Local Level Vulnerabilities and Adaptation Experiences. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers LTD
- Yanda, P., and Bronkhorst, S. (2011). Climate Change and Conflict: Conflict-Sensitive Climate Change Adaptation in Africa. Policy and Practice Brief Issue. Durban: The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD).
- Yekoye, S. (2011, April 10). Families face Bleak Future as Land Conflicts End in Misery. The Citizen Newspaper .
- Young, L., and Sing'Oei, K. (2011). Land, Livelihoods and Identities: Inter-Community Conflict in East Africa . London: Minority Riights Group International

Annexes

Annex 1: Timeline of Conflicts, Human and Livestock Population Trends in Kilosa district

| Years | Conflict dates | Parties involved | Sources/causes of conflicts | Impacts | Efforts by stakeholders | Population size | | Land size available | |
|-----------|----------------|---|---|---|-------------------------|------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | | | | | | Human population | Livestock population | Actual Crop farming (ha) | Actual livestock keeping (ha) |
| 1890 | 1890 | Baraguyu Vs. farmers (Kaguru,sagara, and Vidunda ethnic groups) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Farmers resistance over Baraguyu settlements in Kilosa - Baraguyu was in search for grazing land (water and pasture) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Loss of lives - Loss of properties - Livestock theft - Damage of crop fields - Attack of Baraguyu livestock as they encroached farms fields - Assault - Food insecurity | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 1933-1941 | 1933-1941 | European settlers vs. local African communities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of sisal farms -Expansion of estates -Resulted into local communities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eviction of local communities - Food insecurity - Increased reported cases of conflicts | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | 536,590 | 96,896 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|---|---|--|---|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| | | | resistance | | | | | | |
| 1955 | 1955 | Pastoralists vs. farmers at Italangwe village in Iyongwe ward | - Group of Maasai pastoralists grazed herds of cattle into crop cultivators fields | - Loss of lives - Several people wounded - Loss of properties - Loss of livestock as some died | xxxx | Xxxx | xxxx | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 1967 | 1967 | Maasai pastoralists Vs. Farmers at Chakwale village | - Right to use land for auctioning | - Many people died - Loss of properties - Loss of properties - Loss of livestock (death) - Destruction of farmers' fields | Pastoral settlements were identified and established (Kwambe, Twatwatwa, Mfilisi, Kiduhi, and Msingisi) | 194,000 | xxxx | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 1978 | 1978 | Pastoralists s. Farmers in Berega village | - Land access for grazing | - Loss of lives - Loss of properties - Several people wounded | xxxx | 274,544 | xxxx | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 1979 | 1979 | Pastoralists vs. Farmers at Rudewa Gongoni village | - Livestock herds grazed on farmers' fields - Guns, clubs and arrows were used in conflict | - Several people died - Several wounded - Loss of properties - Family displacement | | Xxxx | xxxx | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 1988 | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | 346,251 | 97,690 | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 1995 | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | 405,995 | 267,704 | 536,590 | 96,896 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|---|---|---|--|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 2000 | 2000 | Pastoralists vs. farmers at -Rujewa mbuyun -Rujewa -Kikenge -Mikoroshini | - Land use: pastoralists grazed livestock into cultivated farmers' fields | - 40 people died - 400 people fled their households - 55 peasant's houses burnt - 17 pastoralists houses of pastoralists demolished/destroyed - 5 Maasai houses burnt at Maware NB: Total of 77 houses for both pastoralists and farmers destroyed/burnt | | | | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 2002 | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | 488,191 | 77,655 | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 2006 | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | 538,065 | 215,040 | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 2007 | 2007 | Pastoralists and farmers at Makwambe/ Mambegwa village in Msowero ward | - Farmers' revenge to pastoralists over the year 2000 Kilosa conflicts | - Loss of lives - Internal displacements of families and properties - In this conflicts, only male pastoralists were attacked and killed by farmers | | 550,495 | | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 2008 | | Pastoralists of Mambegwa sub-village of Mabwegere village (Msowero ward) Vs. | - Land use access: pastoralists grazed over crop cultivators fields | - 8 people died - Several Houses burnt - Thousands of cattle stolen - Number of internally displaced peoples were several | OKI (operation Kilosa i.e. the eviction of livestock in Kilosa) | 562,970 | 81,436 | 536,590 | 96,896 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|---|---|--|---------------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| | | Farmers of Kikenge village | | | | | | | |
| 2010 | | Pastoralists vs. farmers at | - Land use access: pastoralists grazed over crop cultivators (Sukuma) fields known as Mahenda | - Several people were injured - Few cattle were killed and others confiscated by the Sukuma who demanded to be paid 300,000/= per cattle as compensation for each stock grazed in his fields food stocks disappeared | | 587,967 | 141,426 | 536,590 | 96,896 |
| 2013 | conflicts | Pastoralists vs. farmers of Dumila ward (Mabwegere village, Mfulu | - Power struggle | - Several people were injured - Loss of properties belonging to Maasai pastoralists | Formed a team | ??? | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |

Legend:

xxx= No documented statistics on record